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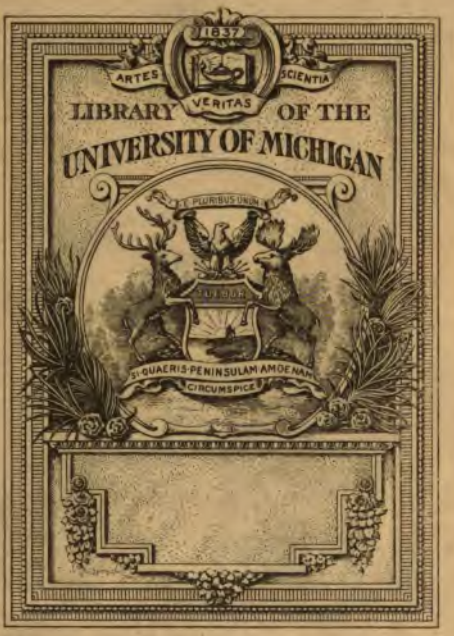
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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

VOL. XV.

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. XV. — NEW SERES, VOL. X.

No. I.

ART. I. — The Works of ROBERT HALL, A. M. With a brief Memoir of his Life by Dr. GREGORY, and Observations on his Character as a Preacher, by JOHN FOSTER. Edited by Dr. OLYNTHUS GREGORY. - - - 1

ART. II. — Φρόνημα τοῦ Πνεύματος; or, the Grace and Duty of being Spiritually Minded, declared and practically improved. By JOHN OWEN, D. D. Abridged by EBENEZER PORTER, D. D. - - - - - - - - 8

ART. III. — A Letter to the Jews of this Country. - - 15

ART. IV. — A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, with a Translation and Various Excursus. By MOSES STUART. 40

ART. V. — A Manual Hebrew Grammar for the use of Beginners. By J. SEIXAS. - - - - - - - - 65

ART. VI. — Memoirs of the late Reverend THOMAS BELSHAM, a brief Notice of his published Works, copious Extracts from his Diary, together with Letters to and from his Friends and Correspondents, By JOHN WILLIAMS. - - 69

ART. VII. — The Christian Psalmist; being a Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, compiled from the most approved Authors. - - - - - - - 116

ART. VIII. — An Address delivered before the Young Men of Boston, associated for Moral and Intellectual Improvement, on the Fifty-seventh Anniversary of American Independence, by AMASA WALKER, President of the Boston Lyceum. 120

ART. IX. — Friendly Letters to a Universalist, on Divine Rewards and Punishments. By BERNARD WHITMAN. - - 133

No. II.

ART. I. — Essais Théologiques. — De l'Usage de la Raison, en matière de Foi. Troisième Essai. — De l'Autorité dans l'Église Réformée; ou, des Confessions de Foi. Quatrième Essai. Essays on the Use of Reason in matters of Faith, and on Authority in the Protestant Church. Being the Third and Fourth of the Theological Essays of PROFESSOR CHENEVIÈRE of Geneva. - - - - - - - 137

ART. II. — A Manual for the Afflicted: comprising a practical Essay on Affliction, and a Series of Meditations and Prayers. By the Rev. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE. With an Introduction, and an Appendix of Devotional Poetry, by the Right Rev. GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE. - - 153

ART. III. — Seduction. - - - - - - - 158

ART. IV.—1. Some of the Principles according to which this World is managed, contrasted with the Government of God, and the Principles exhibited for Man's Guidance in the Bible. By GEORGE B. CHEEVER. - - -

2. Review of Professor Norton's "Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians, concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ." - - 171

ART. V.—The True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church. By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG. - - - - - - - 193

ART. VI.—Men and Manners in America. By THE AUTHOR OF "CYRIL THORNTON." - - - - - 219

ART. VII.—Journal of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Temperance Convention, begun and held at Worcester, on Wednesday, September 18, 1833. - - - 240

ART. VIII.—American Annals of Education and Instruction. Edited by WILLIAM C. WOODBRIDGE. - - - 257

No. III.

ART. I.—The Character of Christ, the Interpretation of Christianity; with an Exposition of the Circumstances of his Resurrection. - - - - - - - 277

ART. II.—A History of Harvard University from its Foundation, in the Year 1636, to the Period of the American Revolution. By the late BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A. M., Librarian of the University. - - - - - - - 311

ART. III.—Sermons on Various Subjects, preached at the Church in Barton Square, Salem, Mass. By HENRY COLMAN. 330

ART. IV.—Qu'est ce qu'un Serviteur de Jésus Christ? Trois Discours adressés aux Étuidians en Théologie, &c.
The Minister of Christ described, in Three Discourses, addressed to the Students in Divinity at the Opening of the Course in November, 1829, 1830, and 1831. By J. E. CELLÉRIER, the younger. - - - - - 334

ART. V.—On the Improvement of Society by the Diffusion of Knowledge: Or an Illustration of the Advantages which would result from a more general Dissemination of Rational and Scientific Information among all Ranks. By THOMAS DICK, LL. D. - - - - - - - - 350

ART. VI.—Memoir and Correspondence of the late Sir James Edward Smith, M. D. Edited by LADY SMITH. - - 365

ART. VII.—A New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets, arranged in Chronological Order. By GEORGE R. NOYES. Vol. I, containing Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. - 385

ART. VIII.—Poems and Prose Writings. By RICHARD H. DANA. 392

INDEX. - - - 405

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

No. LVIII.

NEW SERIES — No. XXVIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1833.

ART. I. — *The Works of* ROBERT HALL, A. M. *With a brief Memoir of his Life* by Dr. GREGORY, *and Observations on his Character as a Preacher*, by JOHN FOSTER. Edited by Dr. OLYNTHUS GREGORY. 3 vols. 8vo. New York. 1833.

AT the commencement of the present century England exhibited a constellation of extraordinary men in all the departments of public life. It was a critical period, one in which the most important interests of humanity seemed often on the point of being swept away by the roused billows of popular feeling. Such periods have ever been fruitful in great men; men who in quiet times avoid the tumult of public life, satisfied with cultivating their minds in an independent solitude. When the elements of social happiness are attacked, and the foundations of social institutions disturbed, such men come forward, and bend the full strength of their minds to the support of the cause which they hold the true one.

Among the Pitts, Foxes, and Burkes of those peculiar days, Fame has written the name of Robert Hall, the Baptist preacher. By the power of his reasoning, the elegance of his style, and the fervor of his address, he gained a place among the chiefs in the domain of Politics, Literature, and Religion. The power of his mind was felt in all these departments of human interest. The influence he exerted

has not yet passed away. His works have been just collected, his biography is still exciting curiosity, partisans are yet disputing concerning his character and claims. We propose to examine them likewise, not as partisans, but as those who delight in studying every manifestation of human greatness and generosity, all efforts made in sincerity for the glory of God and the good of man.

In the present case, it happens to be out of our power to attempt any thing like a complete survey of the character or life of this remarkable man. We shall confine ourselves to the consideration of a single question relating to a peculiar phenomenon of his public character. The question is, Why is it that all parties in politics and religion find so much both to praise and to censure in Robert Hall's opinions? Why is it so difficult to determine which creed he espoused? The liberal party find their own sentiments and opinions eloquently argued and defended in his earlier works, — in his "Apology for the Freedom of the Press," his treatise on "Terms of Communion," and many other publications. The tories see every thing to admire in his later productions, — in his sermon on "Modern Infidelity," on the "Sentiments proper to the Present Crisis," and some other works, dating chiefly from the later years of his life. Did he then change his principles and his party? This he explicitly denies, — he declares at the close of his life that his youthful principles remain unaltered, and he republishes the works which contain them. Did he therefore hold inconsistent principles, or was he misunderstood by the public? Unless we can find some middle way, we must apparently rest in one of these conclusions.

To get light on this question, let us first consider the character and tendencies of his mind, and then the circumstances which surrounded him, acted on him, and received his influence.

Robert Hall's might be called a *great* mind, — large in all its capacities, and wide in the extent of its sphere of perception and action. In every such mind it is easy to discern two characters, always opposing, limiting, and balancing each other. It will not narrow itself to the service of a single idea, it will not blind itself to the majesty of nature by gazing on one truth till all others disappear. It will not live in extremes, — it is not fanatical, — it refuses to submit to any

narrow rule of belief or of duty, — it is conscious to itself of expanding capacities which no rule can measure, no system bound. This is greatness of mind, — such greatness had Robert Hall. Had the circumstances which surrounded him been more favorable, his mind might have expanded into as perfect and complete humanity as our age has witnessed. This was not granted him ; on some sides he was undeveloped ; on others limited ; yet he was, and will always remain, one of the great men of our day.

By looking a little more in detail at this two-fold action of his mind, we shall be able to discover opposing tendencies, which taken together make an entire balance.

The first of these is toward free and independent action. This supplied the motive for his patient and extensive studies. He longed to know and understand for himself, that he might not be obliged to depend on the judgment of others. From this motive he studied Jonathan Edwards in his ninth year, and Dante in his sixtieth, — from this motive he struggled through life to acquire a correct and profound knowledge in every department of science and philosophy. This longing for independent mental action gave much distress to his Baptist friends, to many of whom unfettered thinking was a sure presage of approaching heresy and spiritual danger. Thus we are told that Mr. Fuller and Dr. Ryland entered in their journals these Memoranda. "May 7th. Heard Mr. Robert Hall, jr. preach. Felt very solemn in hearing some parts. The Lord keep that young man." "June 14th. Taken up with the company of Mr. Robert Hall, jun. ; feel much pain for him. The Lord, in his mercy to him and his churches, keep him in the path of truth and righteousness." "June 8th. Robert Hall preached wonderfully from Rom. viii. 18. I admire many things in this young man exceedingly, though there are others that make me fear for him." The truth was, that, with his enlightened mind, he could hardly utter an opinion, or express a sentiment, which would not shock some bigot of his party, who would think himself justified in calling him to account for it. Traces of his independent spirit are often occurring in his writings. Thus he says : "For my part I let every man pursue his own plans ; how it is that I am doomed to be the perpetual object of advice, admonition, expostulation, &c., I know not. I am sure it does not arise from any proofs I have given of

superior docility." In the same spirit, he opposed what he thought bigotry and tyranny with the sharpest weapons of satire and contempt.

Another trait which presses itself on our notice is the strength of his resolution. Whatever he determined to do, that he persevered in, in spite of all opposition and difficulty. A most extraordinary energy of purpose appears from first to last, written over the history of his life. It was by means of his strength of character alone that he was enabled to become what he was. For his friends strove earnestly, from first to last, to make him lay aside whatever was original, independent, and peculiarly excellent in his character. Had it not been for his strength of will, they would have succeeded in making him as common-place as themselves. His firmness sometimes partook of the character of pride and dogmatism. But at other times we must respect his strength of resolution, as displaying the highest moral sublimity. He claims our reverence for the firmness with which he maintained the cause of open communion, though conscious of the unpopularity and odium which it brought upon him. So likewise we must respect that power of soul which enabled him to conquer the attacks of bodly pain, and achieve some of his greatest triumphs of thought when suffering the acutest bodily tortures. His whole life, also, is in this point of view sublime, being one continued and mighty effort to reach truth, to develope his powers, and to influence others for good.

But now, looking on the other side of his character we meet with tendencies which form an equipoise to these. We have seen that the love of liberty was a conspicuous attribute of his character. We now find, accompanying and often counteracting this, a love of law, a willing submission to right, a readiness to yield to the dictates of morality. His conscientiousness, which was great in his youth, increased with his years, and often restrained him from expressing the violent feelings which were always excited by any attempt to compel or restrain him. His sense of moral obligation may be learned from the passage in his "Sermon on the Present Crisis," in which he argues with such power, elevation, and depth of conviction against the system of Utility.

We find also a trait in his character to balance his inflexi-

ble pertinacity and strength of purpose. This was his deep sentiment of veneration for whatever he deemed intrinsically worthy of reverence. In numberless instances during his life, did he resign his own will to that of others, whom he respected for superiority of age, station, or goodness. Sometimes indeed he seems to have been carried too far by this sentiment, — as when for example he tells us that he buried his belief in materialism in his father's grave. His father had always been distressed by this opinion of his son, yet his death probably did not suggest any new arguments to convert him. He very likely sacrificed this speculation from respect to his memory, as the ancients laid their treasures on the funeral pile of those whom they revered. Robert Hall's sentiment of reverence was most conspicuous however in his religious character, producing the most profound humility and submission to God's will, and laying his heart prostrate in devotion.

Such were the features of Robert Hall's mind, — such some of the main tendencies of his character. They are seen from first to last in constant operation; in opposition, but not contradiction. But though always existing, they were by no means all equally active during every part of his life. The longing for freedom, the struggle for independence, and the unwillingness to resign an opinion of his own mind, are much more perceptible in the early part of his career. This indeed might have been expected from the operation of those universal laws, under whose control all minds are formed and unfolded.

Nature has made youth the season of free impulse, and age the period of cautious self-direction. In Hall's case, outward circumstances of situation combined with the guidance of nature to produce the same result. His youth fell in a period when the enthusiasm for freedom was swaying all the ardent minds of civilized Europe. The impulse communicated by our own revolutionary struggle had been rapidly transmitted through the heart of Europe. The heroism of the age had found an object for which to contend. Freedom was the watch-word of every generous mind. At the bare sound, the blood beat faster through the veins of thousands. Hall fully felt this influence. His strong sympathies were moved, — he threw himself into the arena, satisfied to fight by the side of noble spirits for the sake of liberty, —

satisfied of the justice of the cause which was linked with such lofty and stirring sentiments. The principles of freedom and toleration were expounded, argued, and triumphantly maintained by the exertion of his powerful reason, and his efforts were admired and felt by all.

But who does not remember the mighty reaction of public feeling, which the horrors of the French revolution, and the tyrannical sway of Napoleon produced in great Britain. The more zealous friends of liberty were silenced, — the moderate friends changed parties. The tory administration under Pitt acquired an influence which nothing could take from them. This crisis of public opinion was also a crisis in Robert Hall's mind. From this period the restraining sentiments appear to have the command. We find him henceforth less ardent, but more earnest, — less aspiring, but more devoted, — less a champion of freedom, more an advocate of law. His public efforts from this period were directed to the support of the parties in the state which he had previously opposed. He sets forth the opposite side of truth to that for which he pleaded in his youth.

Now if this had been all, no one could complain, or accuse him of inconsistency. The principles of his maturity did not contradict those of his youth, but were rather their supplement and completion. No one can blame the young man for not seeing every thing. Let him state what he sees, and when the sphere of his vision is enlarged by experience and growth, let him also communicate to us his new discoveries. But if while seeing but a part, he thinks that he sees all, and acts arrogantly on that assumption toward those whose vision is more acute than his own, we justly condemn his presumption while noting his deficiency.

Such, in a degree, we think to have been the case with Robert Hall. In stating and defending abstract principles, few men surpassed him in clearness and strength. But his mind failed in applying them to particular cases. What could be stated in distinct propositions, and so reasoned about, he understood. He wanted that imagination which is the best assistant of the understanding, enabling it to grasp the sentiments as well as the opinions involved in and flowing from a principle. He could not distinguish the thousand delicate shades of truth and falsehood which in practice blend the colors which theory has separated. He should not

therefore have been a partisan, for he could never understand the dispute, or do justice to the merits of the parties. But his sympathies were too warm to suffer him to confine himself to the exposition of principles, — he wished to deal with men and things, — he became a partisan, attacked with bitterness, and rebuked with asperity men more clear-sighted than himself. And thus he became really inconsistent; for the men and party who were at one time the object of his satire, were at another zealously defended.

We are thus brought to the conclusion that while part of the charge of inconsistency must be ascribed to the inability of the common mind to understand greatness, another part rests on actual and defensible grounds.

Nevertheless Robert Hall was a great and a good man, and his efforts in the cause of truth and religion were crowned with success. The influence he exerted on the religious world was wide, deep, and strongly marked. He nobly filled that post of duty which God has assigned to every man whose mind has been greatly endowed by Nature or liberalized by culture, the post of a mediator between contending parties. To the bigoted religionist and narrow zealot, he made it apparent that a sound intellect could exist in connexion with a warm heart, knowledge with zeal, cultivation and taste and extended knowledge with a warm piety and a complete devotion to the will of God. And to the skeptical man of education and refinement, who is so ready to sneer at devotion and piety, he proved that religion might be the loftiest theme to the loftiest mind. The expressions of feeling which in others they had considered hypocritical, came from his lips as living realities. The truths which had become trite by the familiar use of the common mind, received new power and grace from his earnest enthusiasm. To the religious world his works must long be a treasure.

ART. II. — *Φρόνημα τοῦ Πνεύματος; or, the Grace and Duty of being Spiritually Minded, declared and practically improved.* By JOHN OWEN, D. D., sometime Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Abridged, by EBENEZER PORTER, D. D., President of the Theological Seminary, Andover. Boston: Peirce & Parker. 1833. 12mo. pp. 211.

A GOOD book of practical piety is at all times profitable and pleasant to a mind of any seriousness, but never more grateful, perhaps, than when it is taken up after the mind has been engaged, either as agent or spectator, in the warfare of conflicting doctrines and opinions. It comes like the news of peace. It refreshes the spirits like the soft evening of a glaring day; like shade and silence after heat, noise, and dust; or as we trust that heaven will refresh them after the pilgrimage of this sandy life. We say not a word against the usefulness of discussion, not a word to imply that we are not aware of the advantages, the very necessity of controversy. The warfare must be accomplished. We stand at our post, and shall not forsake it. While there are mighty errors in the field, we must go out against them. While we see great truths opposed and slighted, we must maintain and support them. While we think the dangers of opposition and contention to be far less than those of ignorance and apathy and slavery, we shall not scruple to oppose false doctrines and contend for the pure faith. But we know and feel and have always said, that there are some things, and those the best things, about which all Christians are substantially agreed. We rejoice at every confirmation which we receive of the fact, that upon the most vital, spiritual, practical truths all Christians meet together. We rejoice to be assured that there is, after all, a bond between those who bear the same name, which unites them all under Christ, their living head. We enjoy the feeling of brotherhood, the certainty that there exist the foundations of a universal Christian connexion, placed so deep and strong in the nature of our common faith, as to be out of the reach of the most violent commotions, which have disturbed or can disturb the peace of the church.

Such has been the character of our sentiments on the

perusal of this treatise of Owen's, in its new, and, as we think, improved form. It was written by an orthodox Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and is abridged by an Orthodox President of the Seminary at Andover; and yet we sincerely recommend it to our friends and readers, in the belief that the study of it can only do them good; in the hope that it may invigorate and assist their efforts after spiritual mindedness, and without a fear that it will make them at all more Orthodox than we would wish them to be. The book shows, in fact, that when a healthy, practical mind becomes thoroughly engaged on the subject of life-giving, practical religion, its Orthodoxy must, for the time, be laid aside and forgotten. There are a few sentences in this work which refer to doctrines as true, which in our view are not true, but their effect is swallowed up and neutralized by the effect of the whole. We do not mind them.

The plan pursued by Dr. Porter in his abridgment, is thus described in the "Editor's Preface."

"As to the work which is now offered to the public, it is proper to say, that, in common with others who have read his writings, I have long entertained a high veneration for Dr. Owen, as conspicuous among the Christian luminaries of his age. His *work on the Hebrews* I have always esteemed as of great value for the justness of its doctrinal views, and its decided spirit of evangelical piety, though the thoughts are too much subdivided and amplified for the profitable perusal of most readers. When I took up his work on *Spiritual Mindedness*, it was in pursuance of the plan above mentioned, of reading some part of such a book daily, for my own benefit. I had proceeded but a few pages, when I found it rich in matter, discriminating, instructive, and weighty in sentiment; but so pleonastic in phraseology, that it was impossible to read it with the interest which I had anticipated. As an experiment, however, I pursued the reading, a few pages at a time, blotting out with my pen words and clauses which obscured the sense, or rendered the expression of it more feeble. In this way I soon became satisfied, that without the alteration of a single sentiment, and with scarcely any change of words, except by omission, the book might be rendered far more useful to all descriptions of readers. To illustrate this remark, I subjoin here a specimen of the process adopted as to abridgement. The sentences below are given

as in the original work, the brackets denoting the parts omitted by erasure.

" 'I shall first show what the spiritual mind is, [and wherein it doth consist,] and then how [it doth evidence itself, so that] we may form a right judgment whether it be in us or not.

" 'This is the best [and most sure] indication of the inward [frame and] state of the mind. For if it be so, [on the one side] as [un] to the carnal mind, it is so, [on the other] as [un] to the spiritual. Wherefore to be spiritually minded, is to have the course [and stream] of [those thoughts which we ordinarily retreat unto, which we approve of as suited unto] our affections [to be] about spiritual things.

" 'When any efficacious conviction passes on the mind, it forces [the egress of] its thoughts up[wards] towards heavenly things, [it will think much and frequently of them,] as if that were their proper motion and course; but so soon as the power of the conviction [decays or] wears off, and the mind is no more sensible of its [force and] impression, the thoughts return [again un]to their old course [and track], as the water tends downwards.' "

" From this specimen the reader will see that I undertook no small task, to reduce the accumulated tautologies and pleonasms of Owen to the standard of good modern English, and that with so few alterations of his words, as to leave the style his own. The work of abbreviation, however, has sometimes been extended to the omission of whole sentences, and even paragraphs." — pp. x – xii.

We like the plan very much. If Dr. Porter had dispensed with the greater part of the italics of the original, he would have rendered it still more readable and acceptable, at least to those who do not need to have all the important words pointed out to them, and are rather disturbed than assisted by the speckled appearance of a page in which different kinds of type are mingled.

Owen will never be read with as much pleasure as Jeremy Taylor, let his style be pruned and improved to the utmost; because he has none of those bursts of eloquence, none of that deep tenderness, none of that richness of language and imagery, and copiousness of classical illustration, often amounting to profuseness and even confusion, which so captivate us in the pages of the latter. But still his manner is by no means dry, and his excellent sense is often adorned by the flowers of rhetoric. His figures, moreover,

have this advantage over those of Taylor, that they are al ways distinct, apposite, correct, and harmonious, while those of Taylor often give us a mere glimpse only of their intention. We have culled one or two specimens in point, from the work before us.

"*Thoughts and meditations*, as proceeding from spiritual affections, are the first things wherein this spiritual mind consists, and whereby it evidences itself. Our thoughts are like the *blossoms* on a tree in the spring. You may see a tree so covered with *blossoms*, that nothing else of it appears. Multitudes of them fall off and come to nothing. Ofttimes where there are *most blossoms*, there is *least* fruit. But yet there is no fruit, good or bad, but it comes from some of those *blossoms*. The mind of man is covered with *thoughts*, as a tree with blossoms. Most of them vanish, and come to nothing; and sometimes where the mind most abounds with them, there is the least fruit. Still there is no fruit which actually we bring forth, good or bad, but it proceeds from some of these *thoughts*." — p. 18.

The next speaks of occasional, sudden, and violent convictions; and in a manner which shows us that good Dr. Owen did not think so highly of them, as some doctors do in our days.

"And it is an argument of very low attainments in grace, when our thoughts of spiritual things rise or fall, according to *occasional convictions*. If when we are under *rebukes* from God in our persons or relations, in fears of death, and the like, and withal, have some renewed *convictions of sin*, and endeavour to be more constant in the exercise of our thoughts on spiritual things; and yet these thoughts decay, as our convictions, with the causes of them, wear off, yet we have attained a very low degree in this grace, if we have any interest in it at all.

"Water that flows from a living spring, runs equally and constantly, unless it be obstructed by some violent opposition; but that which is from *thunder-showers* runs furiously for a season, but is quickly dried up. So are those spiritual thoughts which arise from a prevalent internal principle of grace in the heart; they are even and constant, unless an interruption be put upon them for a season by temptations: but those which are excited by *convictions*, however their streams may be filled for a season, quickly dry up, and utterly decay." — p. 24.

The following is on the duty of ministers to be charitable.

"He, all whose religion lies in prayer and hearing, has none at all. God has an equal respect to all other duties, and so must we have also. I shall not value his prayers at all, be he never so earnest and frequent in them, who gives not *alms* according to his ability: and this in an especial manner is required of us who are *ministers*; that we be not like an hand set up in cross ways, directing others which way to go, but staying behind itself." — p. 38.

Another, on the inconstancy of spiritual thoughts.

"From these causes it is, that the thoughts of *spiritual things* are with many, as *guests* that come into an *inn*, and not like children that dwell in the house. They enter occasionally, and then there is a great stir about them, to provide entertainment for them. In a while they depart, being neither looked nor inquired after any more. Things of another nature are attended to; new occasions bring in *new guests*, for a season. *Children* are owned in the house, are missed if they are out of the way, and have their daily provision constantly made for them. So while occasional thoughts about spiritual things enter into the mind, and are entertained for a season but on a sudden depart, and men hear no more of them; those that are *natural and genuine*, arising from a living spring of grace in the heart, are as the children of the house; they are expected in their places, and at their seasons. If they are missing, they are inquired after. The heart calls itself to an account, whence it hath been so long without them, and calls them over in its wonted converse with them."—pp. 39, 40.

On delight in ordinances of divine worship.

"Two persons may at the same time attend to the same ordinances of divine worship, with *equal delight*, on very *distinct principles*, as if two men should come into the same garden, planted and adorned with every variety of herbs and flowers; one ignorant of the nature of them, the other a skilful *herbalist*. Both may be equally delighted, the one with the colors and smell of the flowers, the other with the consideration of their various natures, their uses in *physical* remedies, or the like. So it may be in the hearing of the word. For instance, one may be delighted with the outward administration, another with its spiritual efficacy, at the same time. Hence, *Austin* tells us, that singing in the church was laid aside by *Athanasius at Alexandria*; not the people's singing of psalms, but a kind of singing in the reading of the scripture, and some offices of worship, which began then to be intro-

duced into the church. And the reason he gave why he did it, was, that the modulation of the voice and *musical tune*, might not divert the minds of men from that spiritual affection which is required of them in sacred duties. What there is of *real order* in the worship of God, is suited and useful to spiritual affections, because proceeding from the same spirit, whereby they are internally renewed. *Beholding your order. Col.* ii. 5. Every thing of God's appointment is both helpful and delightful to them. None can say with higher raptures of admiration, How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord, than they, whose *affections* are renewed. Yet is not their delight terminated on them. — pp. 155, 156.

We ask room for two extracts more; not, however, with the intention of presenting any further instances of Owen's occasionally figurative style, but to show more fully the calm good sense, and rational piety, which are his more constant characteristics. The nature of the happiness of the future state, is a subject on which writers are particularly prone to run into extravagance. The following is the unexceptionable manner in which it is treated by Dr. Owen.

" All that have an apprehension of a *future state* of *happiness*, agree in this matter, that it contains in it, or is accompanied with, a *deliverance from all that is evil.* But in what it is so, they are not agreed. Many esteem only those things that are grievous, and destructive to nature, to be so; that is, what is *penal*, in sickness, sorrow, loss, poverty, with all kinds of outward troubles, and *death* itself, are evils. Wherefore, they suppose that the *future state of blessedness* will free them from all these things, if they can attain to it. This they will lay in the balance against the troubles of life, and sometimes it may be against the pleasures of it, which they must forego. Yea, *persons profane and profligate* will, in words at least, profess, that *heaven will give them rest from* all their troubles. But it is no place for such persons.

To *believers* themselves also, *these things are evil*, such as they expect a deliverance from in heaven: and there is no doubt, but it is our duty, under all our sufferings, persecutions, and sorrows, to raise up our minds to the contemplation of that state, wherein we shall be freed from them all. It is a *blessed notion of heaven*, that God shall therein *wipe away all tears from our eyes:* and it would be to our advantage, if we accustomed our minds more to this kind of relief than we do; if, upon the incursion of fears, dangers, sorrows, we did more readily retreat to thoughts of *that state* wherein we shall be

freed from them all; even *this* most *inferior consideration* of it, would render the thoughts of it more *familiar*, and the thing itself more useful to us. Much better it were, than on such occasions to be exercised with *heartless complaints*, uncertain hopes, and fruitless contrivances.

But there is that, which, to them who are *truly spiritually minded*, hath *more evil in it* than all these things together, and that is, *sin*. Heaven is a state of deliverance from sin, from all sin, in all the causes, concomitants, and effects of it. He is no true believer, to whom *sin* is not the greatest trouble. Other things, as the loss of dear relations, or extraordinary pains, may make deeper impressions on the mind, by its natural affections, at some seasons, than ever our sins did at any one time, in any one instance. So a man may have a greater trouble in *sense of pain*, by a fit of the *tooth-ache*, which will be gone in an hour, than in an *hectic fever* or consumption, which will assuredly take away his life. But take in the whole course of our lives, and I do not understand how a man can be a sincere believer, to whom *sin is not the greatest burden and sorrow.* — pp. 67, 68.

And upon the agreement of men's thoughts concerning heaven he speaks thus.

"It is generally supposed, that however men differ about religion here, yet they agree well enough *about heaven;* they would all go to the same heaven. But it is a great mistake; they differ in nothing more; they would not all go to the *same heaven.* How few are they who value that heavenly state which we have treated of; or understand how *any blessedness* can consist in the enjoyment of it? But this and no other heaven would we go to. Other notions there may be of it, which being but fruits and effects of men's own imaginations, the more they dwell in the contemplation of them, the more *carnal they may grow*, at best the more superstitious. But *spiritual thoughts* of this heaven, consisting principally in freedom from all sin, in the perfection of all grace, in the vision of the glory of God in Christ, and all the excellencies of the divine nature as manifested in him, are an effectual means for the improvement of *spiritual life*, and the increase of all graces in us: for they cannot but effect an assimilation in the heart to the things contemplated on, where the principles of them are already begun." — p. 76.

Much attention has of late been deservedly paid to our old writers on practical religion. Much that is beautiful and true yet remains to be taken out from their folios and offered

in a proper and portable form to general use. We thank Dr. Porter for the present work, and if, in pursuance of his plan, he publishes other works as edifying, we shall have occasion to thank him again and again.

[For the Christian Examiner.]

Art. III. — *A Letter to the Jews of this Country.*

Respected Friends,

The following pages contain a plea for the religion of Jesus, addressed to your understandings, and soliciting from you a candid perusal. The thoughts which are here submitted have arisen from reflection on the causes which have had most influence in rendering that religion unacceptable to you. It has been thought that some of these causes might be removed by a calm, unprejudiced examination of the subject. We trace, not to Christianity itself, but to its corruptions, and to the conduct of Christians in direct contradiction to its precepts, many of those obstacles which have prevented you from receiving it. And while we regard others as proceeding from certain national prejudices on the part of your ancestors, we admit that those prejudices had their origin and their excuse in the peculiar circumstances of the age in which they arose. We believe that the reasons for which your fathers rejected Christianity, are the very reasons which now, in a more enlightened age, and with facilities for judging more impartially, should recommend the religion to your notice.

We trace to three distinct sources, your general reluctance to embrace Christianity.

1. The uncharitable spirit which Christians have too often exhibited towards you.

2. A regard for the decision of your ancestors upon the subject; a belief that the claims of Jesus were, during his life, submitted to the competent tribunal of his own countrymen, and by them fairly tried, and rejected.

3. The human additions which have been made to the

pure teachings of Jesus, and especially the doctrine of his supreme divinity.

On this last subject, I shall say little more than to refer you to the Christian Scriptures. They are accessible to all, and you can ascertain for yourselves what doctrines they teach. It is rather with the first and second of the causes assigned that the following remarks will be connected.

The first of these causes must of itself have possessed a powerful influence. It is not my task to be the accuser of my brethren, nor is it necessary to enumerate the persecutions to which for centuries you have been exposed. The same spirit, it is deeply to be regretted, is by no means extinct even at the present day. You are the objects of dislike, especially to those who are least able to give a consistent reason for their aversion. It is by no means wonderful that while nominal Christians have been active in showing their hatred of you, they should have met with little success in acquiring your love, either to themselves or to their religion. It is not sufficient that I should disavow, on the part of Christianity, any share in this persecuting spirit; it is my business to prove that it is discountenanced by Christianity. And this becomes the more necessary, because many even at this time, consider themselves as justified by religion, — as performing a duty, — when they reverse towards you the conduct of their Saviour.

There has been, from the earliest ages of Christianity, an effort among its followers, to cover over what appeared to them revolting in the idea that their Saviour died in consequence of a judicial process. Especially were they eager to attain this object, when the doctrine had been generally received, that Jesus was an incarnation of the Deity. Hence arose a tendency to describe in terms of exaggeration the guilt of those who were engaged in putting him to death. The idea has been, and is yet, commonly held, that the Sanhedrim, by whose agency Jesus was executed, actually believed him to be the Messiah. It seems also to be imagined that the whole nation participated in the crime. When with these impressions is connected that of the supreme divinity of the sufferer, you may conceive the extent of the popular ideas with regard to the guilt of your ancestors.

But these views, though held by Christians, are unauthorized by Christianity. The guilt, whatever it was, cannot

rest with the mass of the nation, for a very small portion comparatively could have been present to join in the cry for the crucifixion. Of these a very limited number were at all acquainted with the merits of the case. They only knew that a question was at issue with regard to the fate of a supposed criminal, between the Roman authorities and their own magistrates; and they naturally took the part of the latter. The responsibleness rests on the Sanhedrim alone; and with regard even to them, we have the testimony of two witnesses, whose word to every Christian must be sufficient. One of these is the sufferer himself. On the cross he prayed, "Father forgive them, for *they know not what they do.*" The other is the Apostle Peter, who declared shortly after the event, in addressing an assembly of his countrymen, "And now, brethren, I wot that *through ignorance* ye did it, *as did also your rulers.*" Why will Christians, instead of following the example of candor thus exhibited by their holy Master and his faithful disciple, reverse the prayer of Jesus, and nourish towards the Jews of the nineteenth century, a hatred which never entered their Saviour's breast towards those who were the agents in his own death? But that spirit of unchristian feeling is gradually yielding, as the gospel becomes better understood. Care not then, respected friends, for the contumely of those who but partially understand the teachings of their Saviour, but turn rather to that mild and patient sufferer himself; — hear him, on the cross of anguish, beseech his heavenly Father that they who had brought him there might be forgiven; — and ask yourselves, "Are these the words of a selfish, unprincipled impostor, or was the heathen centurion right in his exclamation, Truly, this was the Son of God"?

But it is often said, that the dispersion of your race, and the injuries to which you have been subjected in every nation, are the punishment appointed by God for the rejection of Christ by your ancestors; and a punishment which had been long foretold. It seems to be taken for granted, that, if God has thus declared his will concerning you, it is lawful and almost commendable for Christians to further the divine views, by coöperating in the work of your oppression. Miserably do those, who thus reason, forget the spirit of the religion they profess. Allowing for a moment that their idea of the cause of your national sufferings is correct, the

consideration would afford no excuse for ill-treatment or hard thoughts concerning you. In every age, God has overruled the bad passions of men, for the accomplishment of his own wise purposes; but those passions were none the less bad, no less the objects of his displeasure. Conquerors, led on by personal ambition, have inflicted salutary chastisements on human pride, and deserved the name of "the Scourge of God"; but their fiend-like destruction of human life was none the less criminal in his holy sight. In the very action of your ancestors, for which, according to the opinion of so many, you are still suffering, an object was attained, as Christians believe, the most important since the creation of the world. The Sanhedrim and Pilate were, by condemning Jesus, acting in furtherance of the divine views, and bearing an indispensable part in that great event by which the redemption of the world was consummated. But does any one imagine that they were therefore less guilty? And, had they fully understood the divine plan, had they known that Jesus was innocent, but that, although innocent, it was a part of his mission to die upon the cross, would they have acted a laudable part in procuring his death? No. The only excuse for them is, that they knew not what they did; and the only excuse for your Christian persecutors is that they know not what they do. Carried away by vulgar prejudice, and never having examined the teachings of Scripture on the subject, they are not aware of the unjustifiable, unchristian nature of their conduct.

Shall I be told of the exclamation of the multitude, "His blood be on us, and on our children"? I simply oppose to that outcry of an excited mob, the command which Jew and Christian alike acknowledge to have come from God, "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." *

We have reason to believe, indeed, that the national rejection of Christianity by the Israelites was the act by which they surrendered their peculiar privileges as the chosen people of God, and was, in this sense, the cause of the destruc-

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* Ezek. xviii. 20.

tion of their temple and government, and of their dispersion. But we have no reason to believe that the crucifixion of Jesus, perpetrated in ignorance by the rulers of the Jews, eighteen hundred years since, attaches any guilt to individuals of the nation at the present day, or authorizes Christians to violate, with regard to them, the common rules of charity.

When we reflect on the spirit in which you have generally been treated, we find no cause of wonder in the fact, that you have generally refused to embrace Christianity. According to the popular ideas, an acceptance of our religion would have involved an acknowledgment that your nation, centuries since, committed the unheard-of crime of "Deicide," and that you, their descendants, had been for centuries justly suffering every species of ill treatment, yet never equal to the punishment due for that atrocious action. The argument of the following pages requires of you no such admission. It does however require a candid and rational view of your ancestors' conduct. If you would weigh reasoning impartially, you must be ready to admit that the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, were men with the same passions as other men, as capable of being blinded by prejudice, or by the arts of designing leaders, — in two words, that they were not infallible.

Premising this, we proceed to examine an objection, the strongest perhaps which can arise against Christianity in the mind of a patriotic Jew. The following is the form in which such an individual might express himself. "This religion claims to have been established in Judea; its author is said to have performed miracles there; he laid claim to be that Messiah whom the Jewish nation have constantly expected. His claims were rejected by his own countrymen, my ancestors, who had the best means of judging whether they were well or ill founded. He is even said to have been put to death by them as a criminal. After his death, they who took up the promulgation of his religion, and maintained that he had risen, found few to credit them among their own countrymen, by whom the circumstances of the case must have been best understood; but going among the heathen, who knew nothing about the truth of the subject, they found adherents, and gradually became the ruling party. Is there, in this statement, any thing which should lead me to believe in this supposed Messiah? What reason have I to imagine

that the mass of the Jewish nation, including my own progenitors, and with the Sanhedrim at their head, were so blind as not to know a miracle when they saw it, or so inconceivably wicked and foolish, as to put to death one whom they knew to be the Messenger of God,—for whose approach, too, the whole nation had so long and so anxiously waited? No. The question was tried and decided by the best possible judges, the people and rulers of Israel in the time of Jesus himself; and it would be conduct unworthy of their descendant, to allow that it is any longer a subject for controversy."

Such a train of thought must be admitted to possess, at least to the mind of an Israelite, much apparent strength. What plea then shall be advanced, to induce you to set aside this decision of your ancestors, and grant a new trial to the claims of Christianity? It must be shown that there existed, in the time of Jesus, causes fully sufficient to account for his rejection by his countrymen;—we must examine what these causes were, and demonstrate that they were by no means derogatory to the character of Jesus, or of his religion. I trust further to prove that those peculiarities of the Christian system, which led to its rejection by your ancestors, are in fact, although the prejudices of their age prevented them from discerning it, the greatest recommendations of the religion; and present the only means, by which the Mosaic dispensation itself can be reconciled with what nature teaches us of the character of God.

But before entering more fully on this investigation, a difficulty must be removed, which presents itself at the threshold. You object, perhaps, "This religion claims to rest on the evidence of miracles. It is asserted that Jesus and his disciples caused the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, and even, in some instances, recalled the dead to life. Such things, if they occurred, must have carried conviction with them. Does not the rejection of the religion by those of the age and nation in which it appeared, prove that these miracles did not in fact take place?"

The answer to this objection is to be found in the belief, prevalent in the time of Jesus, in the power of evil spirits to perform supernatural works. The fact will not probably be questioned by any, that this idea, which even now is supported not only by popular opinion, but by numbers of able

scholars, was universally prevalent at the Christian era. An explanation is then at once afforded, of the skepticism of the Hebrew nation with regard to the miracles of Jesus. And this is the very account which the Christian Scriptures give of that skepticism. We do not read there, that, in a single instance, the supernatural character of a miracle was denied; but the objection was constantly made, "This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils." And this was enough to induce most of those who heard it, to hesitate in acknowleging the divine agency displayed. Jesus repelled the accusation, but not by an argument to prove that such power would not have been entrusted to evil spirits. Such an argument would not then have been appreciated. But, meeting the popular objection on its own ground, he showed the inconsistency of supposing that works of beneficence could proceed from an evil source. "If Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself; how shall then his kingdom stand?" *

Similar explanations of the Christian miracles have been given by Jewish writers. "That Christ learned magical arts in Egypt," says Rosenmueller, † "is a wide spread calumny of the Jews, which needs no refutation. Celsus, who repeated it, was briefly, but well, answered by Origen. But who will not wonder that this base fable, long since exploded, should have met the views in any degree, of some fiction-mongers of our own age?" "The modern Hebrews," says Calmet, or his Editor, "affirm that Moses, by virtue of the word *Jehovah* engraven on his rod, performed all his miracles; and that Christ, while in the temple, stole the ineffable name, which he put into his thigh between the skin and the flesh, and by its power accomplished all the prodigies imputed to him." ‡

We gather, from the proofs thus afforded, the conclusion, that the Jews in the age of Jesus possessed, from the belief then prevalent, a method of accounting for obvious miracles, without admitting them to be the effect of divine power, or the seal of divine truth. That they did not receive the religion of Jesus, is therefore no conclusive proof against the

* Matt. xii. 24, 26. See also Mark iii. 22. Luke xi. 15.
† Scholia in Nov. Test. Note on Matt. ii. 14.
‡ Calmet's Dictionary, article JEHOVAH.

reality of its miraculous evidence. I may say more. The Jewish writers of later times, as well as the scribes of the Christian era, by tracing the miracles to the agency of evil spirits, to magic, or to the improper use of the ineffable name, actually *bore testimony to their supernatural character;* for they thus admitted that the works of Jesus were beyond unassisted human power. Receive their testimony, my friends, to this extent; and I have no fear that in the present age, and with a knowledge of the beauty and holiness which distinguish the precepts of Jesus, you should assert that they originated with the powers of darkness. The miracles and the doctrine were then alike from God.

We proceed to examine the causes which induced the Jews of his own age, to reject the claims of Jesus. In speaking, however, of that rejection as a national act, we must not forget that there were thousands, in Judea and elsewhere, who received Jesus as the long expected Messiah; and thousands more, to whom his claims were never exhibited. The greater part of his ministry was spent in Galilee, not in Judea proper. In order, too, to prevent popular commotions, which might otherwise have taken place in his favor, he did not, till near the conclusion of his course, publicly claim the character of Messiah; leaving his title to that office rather to the inferences of his followers. Still, the Sanhedrim, and those of chief influence among the people, had his claims fully placed before them, and their rejection of him was, from the station which they occupied, properly a national act.

The Jews of that day expected as their Messiah a temporal deliverer. Jesus appeared as a spiritual deliverer. This was the great cause of his rejection. It is my task, first, to show that such were their expectations, and such his appearance; — secondly, that this discrepancy was the cause of his rejection; — and thirdly, that, with the more enlightened views of this age, that very cause affords the strongest argument for the reception of his claims.

The Jews of that age expected as their Messiah a temporal deliverer and king. This, I presume, you will not be disposed to question, as the same expectation prevails among yourselves at the present day. Nor was this expectation unnatural. The history of the Hebrew commonwealth had been one of remarkable interventions of divine providence. From the age of Moses to that of Judas Mac-

cabeus, never had the nation been long oppressed under a foreign yoke, but some leader had been raised up, distinguished in a remarkable manner by divine favor, for the restoration of Israel. And at the time when Jesus appeared, the nation, as you well know, was enduring the weight of those sufferings which afterwards drove them into the great insurrection, and resulted in the abrogation of their government, the destruction of their temple, and their own expulsion from the land of their fathers. Under such circumstances, there is no race of men, who would not have impatiently awaited the appearance of a deliverer. But, among the Israelites, the expectation was encouraged by prophecies, which, if they were designed to be understood in their literal sense, foretold a temporal Messiah. At the time now spoken of, the national expectation had been more than usually excited. These facts are so universally admitted that it is unnecessary to do more than refer to the often quoted testimony of Tacitus, * Suetonius, † and Josephus. ‡

I cannot forbear however, to adduce the evidence of a late writer among yourselves. It is from a book entitled, "Israel Vindicated; being a Refutation of the Calumnies propagated respecting the Jewish Nation: In which the Objects and Views of the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, are investigated. By an Israelite." New York, 1820. §

"The idea therefore, of a Messiah appearing at this time, Dear Isaacs, was, as you perceive, confined to a few of our nation, who had been led astray by vague traditions. But even this idea extended no further than to a deliverance from the Roman yoke. The notion of a *spiritual* Messiah was not entertained till some time after the death of Jesus of Nazareth. Two opinions were held as to the character of the Messiah at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem; but neither of them favored the idea of a spiritual deliverer. 'They,' says Manasseh Ben Israel, 'who believed the city doomed to Roman vengeance, and submitted to the Roman

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* Historia, Cap. 13. † Vita Vespasiani, Cap. 4.

‡ De Bello Jud. lib. VII. Cap. 31.

§ For access to this and some other interesting works, subsequently quoted, I am indebted to the kindness of a distinguished member of the Jewish community in Savannah, Georgia; — a favor which I take this occasion gratefully to acknowledge.

general, as thinking he must be the prince who was to come before their final destruction; and they who thought a Messiah of their own nation would come, and comforted themselves that their city and temple could not be destroyed before he came, and therefore expected salvation to the last hour." — *Letter IV.* p. 12.

Perhaps, in your own moments of feeling for the remnant of Israel, a vision has passed before you of Him whom you have expected as yet to come, the Warrior, the Deliverer, the Monarch of God's chosen people; just indeed, but stern, and bruising with a rod of iron the oppressors of his race;—clothed in righteousness indeed, but clothed also in majesty, combining the military glory of David and the magnificence of Solomon. For such a Messiah your ancestors eagerly waited. And they probably expected him to appear from among the noblest of his people, and in Jerusalem, the city of their kings.

The Prophet appeared,— a carpenter's son, in a village of Galilee, so obscure that its name was a proverbial expression of contempt. Instead of leading his people in revolt against the Roman power, his first labor was to teach them humility, charity and love to all, and non-resistance to oppressors. Instead of ascending the throne of David, he had not where to lay his head. Though probably startled by these early indications of a character so different from what they had anticipated, the multitude continued to attend his steps, and some became closely and personally attached to him. But they still expected to see his conduct at length change. They looked to see him assume that character which had so long been ascribed to the Messiah. He assumed it not. He taught them constantly a system of love to God and man, so pure that all its opponents have never discovered in it a blemish, but the farthest conceivable from that military spirit which they had anticipated and desired. They expected to find him acknowledged by the elders of the people as their chief; they looked to behold him zealous for the very letter of the law of Moses. But they soon found him placed in direct opposition to those whom they reverenced, reproving boldly their prevalent vices of hypocrisy and pride; and though he showed respect for the Mosaic law to a reasonable extent, they saw him performing cures on the Sabbath day, and heard him maintain that the

observance of mere forms was not in itself a service acceptable to God. They even beheld, in his teaching, indications of that principle, afterwards more prominently supported by his followers, that other nations were to be admitted to a participation in the same privileges with themselves.

Is it surprising that a teacher, so different from him they had expected, should have proved unacceptable to the people to whom he came? It may perhaps be said, that in the account just given, too much has been taken for granted;—that it is not yet proved that the transactions of the life of Jesus are faithfully recorded. Be it so. It is not essential that the details of the Gospel history should, at this stage of the argument, be admitted to be correct. From whatever source the religion came, the fact remains unaltered, that it was opposed to the conceptions of the age, to the favorite ideas of the Jewish nation; and this fact is sufficient to account for its rejection by them.

The reason is still more obvious why the majority of the nation did not subsequently receive the religion of Jesus. By the crucifixion, the act of rejection had been consummated in a manner which enlisted against the sufferer the sentiments of every Jew who felt for the honor of his nation. Not only this, but a principle was now developed, which, though it lay at the very foundation of the system, had not hitherto been conspicuously exhibited, because no instance had been presented for its application. This principle was, the admission of the Gentiles to an equality with the Jews, the abolition of all that was peculiar in the Jewish ritual, and in the connexion of the nation with the Supreme Being. Even at the present day, I am conscious that, on this subject, a pious Jew must find great difficulty in treating the claims of Christianity with impartial justice; yet I hope to prove before concluding, that this very principle is one most honorable to the Jewish religion, and the only barrier which can defend that system against the attacks of Infidelity.

I have thus attempted to show that the prejudices of the Hebrew nation, connected with their best feelings, their patriotism and their reverence for the Mosaic Law, sufficiently explain their rejection of Christianity; while the fact, that they believed in other supernatural agencies beside that of the Supreme Being, accounts for the little effect produced on their minds by the miracles of Jesus. I have now

to prove that the difference which existed between Jesus, as he actually appeared, and the Jewish anticipations of the Messiah, is the strongest proof of the justice of his claims.

Eighteen centuries have now passed, since the age of which we are speaking. The laws of nature are now better understood, and we have clearer conceptions of the divine character and operations. We have less of national prejudice to cloud our perceptions. We are better able on every ground, to judge which, of two supposed courses of conduct, is most worthy of the Author of the Universe. In entering on the comparison now about to be instituted, I beseech you to lay aside, as far as possible, your personal connexion with the ancient Jews, and to judge of the divine operations with regard to them as impartially as if that connexion did not exist.

I appeal to you then as men of the nineteenth century; — which was the more worthy office for a divine messenger; to effect a political revolution by destroying one empire and establishing another, or to teach the whole human race their duty to each other and their God?

Forgetting for a moment that you are Jews, look at the map of the world, and point out there the land of Palestine. You find it scarcely discernible, at one corner of the Mediterranean Sea. Then trace on the same map the present boundaries of Christendom, coëxtensive as it is with civilization. Was it an object more worthy of divine agency for its accomplishment, that a tyrannical government should be subverted in that small country of Palestine, or that civilization, piety, and social order should prevail through Europe, through America, and eventually through the world?

Compare in importance the religion of the lips and the religion of the heart; the religion which consists in splendid edifices and splendid services, in altars and sacrifices and incense, and that which consists in doing good among men, revering God, and preparing for eternity. Was it the more worthy object for a prophet to be sent on earth, to reëstablish a ritual worship in one small nation, in its pristine splendor, or to lead the whole world to the worship of the heart and life?

If the answers be given to these questions which reason seems to dictate, can the conclusion be avoided, that the object held in view by the Author of Christianity, the estab-

lishment of a spiritual religion, was more worthy of a divine interposition to effect it, than the object which the Jews of his age expected him to accomplish, — the restoration of Israel to its ancient splendor?

We have thus far viewed those ideas only which seem to have been prevalent in the age of Jesus himself. But it would not be doing justice to either side of the question before us, were we to leave uninvestigated the opinions of your nation in later times.

The great distinction between your faith and ours, is at the present day what it was at the beginning; those prophecies which are by us referred to spiritual blessings, are according to your system to be explained literally, and, except in a very few instances, with reference, not to the world at large, but to your own nation only. * It is still the objection to Christianity, that it gives to the prophecies a different meaning from that which, on first reading them, suggests itself to the mind; that it spiritualizes them, and applies them to mankind in general; that in the blessings which it promises, and the influence it exercises upon the world, its operation is unseen and not exerted upon external, visible things. These objections are analogous to those first felt against Christianity by your predecessors; and the answer to them is the same now as then. We are convinced that one of the chief advantages of Christianity consists in that very spirituality, that absence of any direct influence upon external things, which is thus, to you, the ground of objection; and we believe that yourselves, sharing the light, the enlarged and refined ideas of this century, are now fitted to rise above the prejudices of education, and to reach the same conclusion which has been expressed as our own.

Man is possessed of external and internal senses. The

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* For an account of modern Jewish opinions, see "The Jew," a periodical work, conducted in New-York, by S. H. Jackson, in 1822 and following years; — particularly an article entitled, "Examination and Answer to a Sermon delivered by the Rev. George Stanley Faber," in Vol. I. No. 8; and a reply by the Editor to the enquiries of a correspondent, signing himself Camden, in Vol. II. No. 3.

See also, "Koul Jacob," (The Voice of Jacob) "in defence of the Jewish Religion, containing the Arguments of the Rev. C. F. Frey, one of the Committee of the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews, and Answers thereto; by Jacob Nikelsburger." Liverpool, 1814. Especially pages 69, 70.

external are sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch; the internal are reason, understanding, the will, the affections, &c. Every religion appeals more or less to both these portions of human nature; for religion always presents subjects for the exercise of thought, belief, and affection, and it communicates these subjects to the mind through the avenues of the external senses. The terms *spiritual* and *external*, as applied to religion, are therefore used not absolutely, but merely in a comparative manner. Thus, among Christian denominations, there are many grades in which these terms may be variously applied. It is possible to spiritualize religion too much; for, as our nature is compound, we need external as well as internal influences. Sacrifice is a more external, and less spiritual form of worship than prayer; and even prayer is an external service, when compared with silent meditation on the Divine Being. But the constitution of our natures will not permit us, without great difficulty, to worship God in this manner exclusively; and therefore prayer and sacrifice have been instituted.

The founder of our religion did not carry the spiritual nature of his system to an extent beyond the capacity of the human mind to bear. Prayer he inculcated both by precept and example; and he instituted two external, symbolical, though simple rites. His disciples too, having the spirit of their Master, instituted and continued the observance of the first day of the week, originally as a day for religious meetings, and subsequently also as a day for religious rest.

The Jewish system was in many respects external. It was indeed, incomparably more spiritual than any of those prevalent in the surrounding nations; yet it possessed its temple, its sacrifices, its annual fast and festivals, at which the whole nation were required to attend. Its external character was exhibited, too, in its intimate connexion with the national government and laws. And most wisely was that system arranged; for it cannot be supposed that, while all other nations lay in the grossest darkness, the Israelites, just delivered from a state of bondage in Egypt, were fitted for a purely spiritual religion. The necessity of a system in some degree external, was obviously shown by the conduct of the people during the absence of Moses, when they made an image to represent the being who had delivered them from Egypt, and consecrated it with a festival.

It is the belief of Christians, that the system then promulgated answered its purpose, by preserving in the memory of man the great principles of truth, until mankind were fitted to receive a spiritual religion; and that this spiritual religion is the one proclaimed by Jesus. We need say no more to illustrate the suitableness of the Mosaic system for the age, the nation, and the purpose, for which it was designed; but we have yet to show the fitness of Christianity for its higher, its universal, and never-ending purpose. And we may lay down, as the sentiments to be proved, that a religion, designed to be universal, must be spiritual in its character. It must possess few ceremonies, and those of a simple kind. Forms may indeed be associated with it from time to time, as there exists among Christians the greatest variety of ceremonies and modes of worship; but these must be merely incidental, not forming a part of the religion itself, but adopted by its adherents to facilitate its influence over them. It has been remarked that the Mahometan religion, adapted to the warm climate where it originated, could never become, without a change in the ordinances it prescribes, the religion of Lapland; for the continual ablutions it requires would be impracticable in those climates; and its prayers appointed for sunrise and sunset, would within the polar circle, be offered only twice in the year.

An external religion however could much more easily encounter the varieties of place, than those which take their origin from the mental constitution of man. None but a spiritual system can adapt itself to the advancement of the human race. Let us take, as an example, the influence of religion on government. It is generally admitted, in this country, that in every government the people should have a voice. You, it is well known, share in this sentiment with as much warmth as any of your fellow citizens. It will not be questioned, here at least, that republican institutions are those best adapted for a high state of national advancement. Christianity agrees with our customs and feelings on this subject, and flourishes in connexion with them; because Christianity lays down no express principle for preferring one form of government to another. Her kingdom is not of this world. Political institutions are external things, with which she has nothing to do, further than to elevate the minds and hearts of the people, so as to enable them to judge aright

on this, as on every other subject. But your system teaches, that the throne of David is to be reëstablished, and is to obtain the ascendency over the world. Whether the kingdom of the Messiah is expected to be strictly universal, or merely to assume a higher rank than any other, is difficult to ascertain. In either case, the world must go back, not merely to limited monarchy but to Oriental despotism; for it cannot be supposed that the cause of liberty elsewhere can survive the shock inflicted by a heavenly declaration in favor of monarchy, which will thus be made in Judea. The long-exploded doctrine of the divine right of kings will gain more plausibility and more believers than it ever yet lost. Nor will the difficulty be met, should all the world become one great political kingdom, over which the Messiah is to reign; for it is the character of the *system*, not of the individual *ruler*, which renders despotism an evil; and as you believe, that the Messiah, however great, however perfect, will be a man, it is impossible that the influence of his personal qualities should correct the evils which must result from the deadening influence of arbitrary power throughout his universal empire. And should the Messiah, after reaching the usual limit of human existence, transmit his crown to a successor, it is obvious that unless human nature be changed, or a continual series of miracles be employed, no very effectual provision will have been made for the preservation of the Jewish ascendency, or of the peace of the world. The sceptre of the ruler at Jerusalem will scarcely be long acknowledged by the remoter provinces of his empire, and half a century of peace may be succeeded by a thousand years of war, before the nations are established again in their ancient limits and their ancient independence.

Our principle, that a spiritual religion alone can be adapted to the human mind, in every stage of its advancement, may be further illustrated by reference to the subject of sacrifices. These forms were in ancient times highly useful, to interest the thoughts in the service of which they were a part; they were an easier method of worship than any other, and better adapted to the human mind as it then existed. It was necessary that the Supreme Being should be publicly worshipped, in order to keep alive in the minds of men a sense of their connexion with him. But a service consisting of prayer alone would have possessed

little to interest a people whose intellectual nature had not yet been thoroughly developed. Sacrifices therefore were appointed, with all their accompaniments of state and splendor, — something external, visible, imposing. The Christian religion did not prescribe a form of service, but left it to successive ages to adopt whatever might be best suited to their wants; and the rituals of the Catholic and Greek churches have been in many respects judiciously adapted to a people not yet prepared for simpler and more spiritual worship. But if your religion be restored in Palestine, all admit that it is to be restored in its splendor, with its temples, its sacrifices, its festivals, and all the apparatus of external magnificence. Are these things suited to an advanced, an intellectual age? As an instance of the degree to which external worship has lost its hold upon mankind, we may turn to the emblematic service of fasting. Fasting is a symbol of sorrow; and, for thousands of years, it has been employed, in many cases undoubtedly with the best effects, in softening and humbling the heart by the ideas it suggested. But at present among Christians, in this country at least, the rite is seldom observed. Its very meaning seems to have been generally forgotten. Why is this? Is there less piety now than in former days, or are we less able to deny ourselves a trifling indulgence? Neither, we may trust; but men are now more accustomed to think than they have been; they find less difficulty in fixing their thoughts on religious subjects, without the assistance of external symbols; these therefore become unnecessary, and lose that reverence which the community formerly paid to them. Such is the present age; its mental light is increasing continually. The age of temples and altars has passed by; and religion has become, and is becoming more and more, a thing of the heart and of the life.

The Christian system, from its spiritual character, is adapted to the human spirit upon which it is to act. It is the nature of the mind to yield to the influence of motives; and Christianity consequently exercises its sway by presenting motives of action. It thus claims an affinity with the highest part of our nature, with those powers by which we compare, select, and decide, with our reason, our affections, our will. But such is not the influence which the Messiah, according to your conception of him, is expected

to exert. Glowing descriptions are given of the universal happiness which is in his days to be enjoyed. War will no longer exist; even dumb animals will lose their ferocity, and the prophecy of Isaiah (chap. xi.) will be literally fulfilled. This result, it appears, will be produced by a direct agency exerted on the minds of men by the Supreme Being. "The new covenant promised to us," says one of your writers, "will contain one more condition to be performed on the part of God, to wit, that he will not suffer us to be exposed to the weakness of our own natures, but will write the law which he gave us at Sinai on our hearts; in consequence, we shall have no inclination to transgress it any longer; the first covenant was conditional, the new will be absolute and unconditional."* In this respect, it appears that the operation of the Christian system is more spiritual, more in conformity with the nature of the human mind. All that has been seen of the world thus far shows us, that man is a being placed between good and evil, and left free to make his choice; and that the author of his existence operates upon him, by presenting motives to the course of virtue. It is from this, that the value of good conduct originates; the obedience of one who could not help obeying would be worthless. Such has been human nature in time past, and such it is at present. Shall its laws now be changed? Shall free agency be taken away, and man be reduced to the condition of a machine? Can it be otherwise, if the world is by a miraculous agency to be at once and inevitably brought into obedience to the law, written in their hearts in such a manner, that no volition is left to them whether to obey it or not? If such is to be the result, crime will indeed cease, but virtue will cease also; — there will be no more temptation, but there will be no more conquest over it. The human being, no longer the controller of his own actions, will be no longer responsible, no more the object of praise or blame. He will be perfect in the performance of every duty, but all will be done mechanically, and the highest part of his nature, the power to choose, to will, must be lost. Christianity on the other hand, aims to attain a higher perfection of our nature, by nobler means. It places before us the standard of God's law, as the object of our constant endeavours; it

* From "The Jew," Vol. II. No. 3. Reply to Camden.

tells us of temptations we must resist, of hardships we must bear, of powers we must exert, of heaven as our reward, and punishment and sin (in itself its own heaviest punishment) to be avoided. It thus sends us forth on a course of never-ending progression; it influences the free mind of man, not by force, externally or internally applied, but by persuasion, by motives addressed to the self-determining power. It is therefore more conformed to human nature, more analogous to the general order of God's dispensations.

To point out this peculiarity of the method in which Christianity exerts its influence affords a sufficient answer to many of the objections which have been brought against the religion. It is asked "If God has spoken, why is not the whole world convinced?" We answer that the influence of the Gospel is moral, not compulsory, and that, were it otherwise, it would not be adapted to the free nature of the human mind; that consequently it has rightly been made to rest on arguments, which have been satisfactory to most enquirers, but which the mind is still free to reject. Is it asked, why Christianity has not more rapidly improved the condition of the world? why wars still exist? why other evils have been so slowly eradicated? A similar answer may be correctly given. It would not have been a religion, influencing accountable beings, but an act of sovereign power, altering the nature of the soul, if these effects had been produced otherwise than gradually. And its adaptation for universal influence may well be recognised in this peculiarity. It seldom directed itself explicitly against those abuses which formed a part of the national customs in its own age, but laid down principles of general application, enforced precepts for universal reception; and thus, without externally striking a single blow at existing institutions, it has been, by its influence on the hearts of men, gradually, but signally, remodelling human society. It said not a word against the gladiatorial combats of the Romans, yet these gave way before its silent influence. It said not a word against monarchy, but enforced on its converts an obedient and peaceable demeanor; yet never has the principle of despotism recovered from the shock which it gave. Silently, and gradually, has the Christian religion undermined the corruptions which existed before its day; and those which still remain in the

world, will in the same manner, we trust, be superseded by its mild and quiet influence.

The spiritual character of Christianity displays itself in its reference to a future world. I would not deny that passages are to be found in the Old Testament, indicative of anticipations on the part of their writers, of an existence beyond the grave. But the idea is essential to the Christian system, while it is but incidental in the Jewish. The Gospel makes the reality of a future state the very foundation of its instructions and influences. It is in this chiefly that the Kingdom of Jesus "is not of this world;" because it teaches us to regulate our actions with continual reference to another. Deprive Christianity of the motives, the hopes and fears of another life, and you remove from it all that constitutes its chief value; it is no longer the same. But take from the Jewish dispensation the few sentences which relate to a future state of being, and the change is not perceptible; the various commands retain the same sanction which before belonged to them; for all the motives, by which they were enforced, had reference to this world. Which system then, presents the most worthy ideas of God and his designs, of man, his destiny and his duty; — one which inculcates right conduct by motives drawn from this world alone, — which tells us indeed of a future state, but leaves the subject there, and demands only our attention for the scene in which we dwell; — or a system which informs us that it is for heaven that we were created, — which places eternal happiness before us, as the high mark, to which we should continually aspire, which regards this life as the preliminary stage of our existence, the period in which we are to mould our characters for eternity?

One portion of my task still remains. As soon as the spiritual and universal character of the Christian dispensation was developed, a conclusion followed, highly unpleasing at first view, to the mind of a patriotic Israelite. This was, that the peculiar connexion between the Supreme Being and the Jewish people, was now at an end, — that no one nation was henceforth more sacred in the sight of Heaven than another. It is my wish to show that this change is not only worthy of the Supreme Being, but highly honorable to the Jewish nation; that its truth is in fact the only supposition upon which the divine origin of the Mosaic dispensation

can be maintained against objectors, and reconciled with the character of God.

Let us examine for a moment the representation which your system gives of the divine conduct in relation to yourselves and to the world. We are taught by nature to conceive of the Sovereign of the Universe, as of One totally superior to human weaknesses, One who loves all the creatures he has made, but who loves none of them capriciously, or without a reason. Among human beings in particular, we are led to conclude, that there is but one ground on which he exercises towards them different degrees of complacency; and that is, the distinction of moral conduct, the difference between virtue and vice. To make, without some peculiar cause, any other distinction than this, — to select a peculiar family for instance, as the objects of his favor, without any ulterior aim in that selection, would be conduct inconsistent with the perfect, just, and impartial character which we conceive as belonging to our heavenly Ruler. And especially would such conduct bear the stamp of partiality, and of weakness, if, without any aim beyond that of showing favor to this chosen family, he should assist them in wars against their neighbours, sometimes defensive, sometimes offensive, and should encourage them in excluding from their fellowship, as less honored than themselves, all the other inhabitants of the earth; if finally, after having abandoned his chosen race, without any assignable cause, for at least eighteen hundred years, he should recall them from the lands where they had at length attained a happy settlement, and restore them to that country which their ancestors had not for centuries inhabited, and whose language they had generally forgotten; that he should conduct them there through the slaughter of all who opposed them, and humble at their feet all other nations on the earth. Can we recognise in such conduct as this, the just, the wise, the immutable God? Would it not appear, that if this be the only account which can be given of God's dealings with his people, it is an account contradictory to natural religion, and one which therefore cannot be true?

But there is another and a different explanation, equally consistent with your ancient records, and consistent also with all that nature teaches of the character of God. According to this system, it was the design of the Supreme

Being, that the human mind should be through all ages free to pursue its own interest, and always furnished with light to discern that interest, in proportion to the developement of its powers. In other words, it was his design gradually to educate the human race, less by direct instruction, than by the influence of motives and circumstances. For the accomplishment of this end, successive measures were adopted, different indeed, but all harmonious, all being parts of the same great plan. At first the few individuals who formed the human family were immediately instructed from above; but as the race increased, and a regard for their freedom of action prevented continual manifestations to them, a single family was selected, for an object, not of partial but of *general* good, to keep alive in the earth the memory of God and of duty, and to prepare the way gradually for a complete and full revelation. On account of the great interest confided to them, this family, and the nation which sprang from it, were protected in a peculiar manner. To them were communicated, from time to time, instructions of the purest morality, and true and glorious conceptions of the majesty of God. But their worship was regulated in such a manner as to suit an age of the world, which had not outlearned the use of external symbols, and at the same time to prevent too near a contact with surrounding idolatrous nations. At length the prospect seemed to darken around them. Successive conquerors obtained the dominion of their country, and numbers of them were scattered through Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy. Wherever civilization had advanced, there were branches found of that nation, whose home was yet in Palestine. Who of them then anticipated the providential events which were to flow from their exile? Centuries of war at length gave place to peace. The civilized world knew but a single master, the Roman Emperor; and one language, the Greek, was every where understood. Then it was that the great object, for which the Jewish nation had been set apart, was destined to be accomplished. The world had attained a high degree of mental culture; it was ready to receive a spiritual religion. That religion was proclaimed in Judea; the life and death of its founder proved his disinterested sincerity; the martyrdom of his followers proved their belief in its truth. Human power opposed its progress in vain. God had prepared the way

for it. The profound peace of the world, — the union of civilized Europe and Asia in a single empire, — the prevalence of a single language, aided its progress; the settlement of Jewish communities in every important city gave it more easy entrance; for in every such community were some by whom it was embraced.

But the sceptre had departed from Judah; — and why should Judah regret its loss? The peculiar connexion of the Hebrew state with the Most High no longer existed; but it had terminated with an event more glorious than any which had preceded, during the long centuries of the Old Dispensation. Israel had now become the instrument in communicating to the whole world the instructions of Heaven. The law of Moses was not dishonored. Its ritual, national, exclusive portions, had indeed fulfilled their purpose and were no more; but its spiritual portion, its pure moral precepts, its inspired delineations of the divine character, its lofty strains of sacred poetry, and its glorious predictions of the Messiah who had now appeared, were henceforth the admiration, the guide of a world. The UNIVERSAL RELIGION, which had appeared, could not indeed give to a single nation exclusive preëminence over others; but it yet reflected glory on the land of its birth; and thenceforward, Palestine was to all the civilized world, "the Holy Land," Jerusalem "the Holy City." The memory of their ancient preëminence yet marked the chosen people of God among the nations of the world; —

"The glory remains, while the light fades away."

But the light of Judaism has not faded. No. Increased in splendor, purified, spiritualized, freed from every thing exclusive, rendered the source of universal blessedness, it still burns in Christianity, the same with that which beamed from Sinai, in all that then constituted its distinguishing brightness. The great principles of the Unity of God, — of the ability of man (assisted by those influences of the spirit which are granted to all) to perform his duty, — of the merciful and long-suffering, yet just and holy character of the Supreme, — these, as the Jews of old held them, and as they have been retained by Jews to the present day, are, we believe, maintained and enforced in the New Testament. The limits of this letter have been already too

much extended to permit our entering on the examination of this subject; — nor is it necessary. Read the Christian Scriptures for yourselves; and for yourselves ascertain what they teach. You will find, I trust, to your satisfaction that the Founder of Christianity aimed not to establish any principle, at war with reason, or derogatory to the character of the Supreme Being.

The positions I have endeavoured to support, may thus be arranged.

1. That the prevalence at the Christian era, of a belief in the power of demons to perform supernatural works, accounts for the fact that the miracles of Jesus did not carry conviction to the minds of all his countrymen.

2. That the rejection of Christianity by your ancestors, in the age of its promulgation, was the natural consequence of its spiritual character, so different from the temporal dispensation which your people have always anticipated.

3. That therefore the supposition that Christianity is true, affords no ground for denunciation against those by whom it was thus rejected. What they did was done through ignorance, — not certainly excusable on the part of all their leaders, but on that of the people in general inevitable, and therefore not criminal.

4. That the very ground, on which Christianity was then rejected, its spiritual nature, appears in our age, to unprejudiced minds, and with clearer light, to be in fact the noblest feature of the religion, constituting its great superiority over that which your ancestors awaited, and affording the only means for reconciling the previous favor shown by God to your nation with the great principle of the divine impartiality.

I call on you then to give another hearing to the cause of Jesus of Nazareth. His claim to be received as Messiah was denied by your predecessors, as I have endeavoured to show, on insufficient grounds. By their decision you therefore should not be bound. Nor, in embracing the religion of Jesus, will you cast any stain upon the memory of your nation, from which filial piety should shrink.

But are you still deterred by a sense of honor, a feeling that you must not desert your brethren, while they constitute a minority, and are exposed to even the possibility of unjust treatment? There is much in such a feeling worthy

of admiration; and in other countries and other times its effect on honorable minds must have been great. Yet even there, it afforded no sufficient reason for neglecting to embrace the truth, wherever it should be found. Listen to the words of your own distinguished Rabbi, Moses Mendelsohn, the friend of his nation, and not less the friend of the human race.

"Whatever the result had been, so soon as I found the religion of my fathers was not the true one, I must have deserted it. Were I in my heart convinced of the truth of any other, it would be the lowest vileness in me to bid defiance to my conviction, and be unwilling to recognise the truth; and what could seduce me to such vileness?" *

But in this country, the motive to which I have referred, must cease to exist. Here the Christian cannot look down upon you, without violating the principles of his country's constitution, as well as the principles of justice, common sense, and the Gospel. Here you stand on the same level with your fellow citizens of other sentiments; and if, in some cases, prejudices are still entertained against you, they are not stronger certainly than those which many denominations of Christians entertain against others. Honors and rewards are no longer held forth to you, if you will embrace Christianity; and therefore it is that I with more confidence invite you to examine its claims. In a temporal point of view, the Jew who becomes a Christian is likely to lose more than he will gain. The motive then, of suffering with your suffering countrymen, no longer exists. The whole ground of examination is fairly before you; and there is nothing to influence your choice but the single consideration, What is the truth?

Farewell then, brethren in the faith of Moses and the ancient Prophets, whom we also revere;—and should this humble attempt prove unsuccessful, as it probably may, in producing any change in your general sentiments, let it at least convince you, that Christianity is not, as it may have appeared to you, a bitter and persecuting enemy to your race;—that it does justice to the motives and feelings of those who opposed it at its origin, and inculcates upon its followers towards yourselves no feelings but those of affection and respect. A UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN.

* Mendelsohn's letter to Lavater, published in "The Jew," Vol. i. No. 9. p. 181.

ART. IV. — *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, with a Translation and Various Excursus.* By MOSES STUART, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Andover. Flagg & Gould, 1832. 8vo. pp. 576.

THOSE who are acquainted with the result of Professor Stuart's late exegetical labors on Cicero, will feel no surprise, when they are told, that in some quotations from the Latin classics, in the present volume, he has not been remarkably felicitous. The Preface contains a signal instance. The learned commentator intends, we presume, to give the often quoted scrap from Terence, "Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto;" * which he has metamorphosed into — "Homo sum, et nihil *ab hominibus me alienum* puto." Perhaps the Professor has some manuscript authority for this, or he may be giving us a specimen of his skill in the art of conjectural criticism. But in all honest simplicity, we must say, that we do not consider the reading an improved one; nor, in our dulness of apprehension, do we exactly perceive how either grammar or sense is to be extracted from the sentence in its amended form. But let us see what the Professor makes of it.

"I do not profess," says he, with very commendable modesty, "to be free from all prejudices of education and all attachment to system." — "Nor do I profess to be so illuminated in respect to divine things, and so skilled in the original language and criticism of the New Testament, as to be certain that all my conclusions respecting the meaning of the Epistle before us, are correct. 'Homo sum, et nihil ab hominibus me alienum puto.'" That is, if the quotation has any pertinency, I am a man, and claim no exemption from human infirmity!

There really seems to be a fatality attending every attempt of the Professor to meddle with the classics, in so slight a matter as a quotation even. In illustration of a remark of St. Paul, he quotes Horace as saying

> "Audax omnia perpeti,
> Gens humanum ruit per vetitum nefas."
>
> Carm i. 3.

* Heauton. Act. I. Sc. I.

We have an old copy of Horace in which we read "Gens *humana*," instead of *humanum*. Nor do we see how the quotation illustrates the Professor's position, that we are inclined to do what is forbidden, simply because it is forbidden, in other words, that all law which attempts to impose restraint on the passions serves to excite and inflame them. * This, says the Professor, was a principle acknowledged by the heathen, and he appeals to Horace, but we do not perceive that Horace says any thing of this sort. He simply states the fact that mankind are presumptuos enough to attempt any thing, and violate all laws human and divine. Of the cause he says nothing.

But our present concern with the Professor, is in his character especially as a theological commentator. We cannot say that we think his views remarkably comprehensive or exact. Judging from the present performance merely, we should be tempted to pronounce him a very confused, loose, and inaccurate writer. Many remarks and statements occur in different parts of the volume, which will hardly be considered as evidence either of ripe scholarship, or habits of correct and patient thought. On some doctrinal points, the Professor, his quinquennial oath notwithstanding, has departed from the views, which, a few years ago, were generally regarded in New England, as essential ingredients of a sound faith. Still it is evident that his orthodoxy is occasionally a little embarrassing. The truth at times appears ready to burst from his pen. He seems about to adopt a natural and obvious mode of interpretation, but he suddenly relents, and as if startled with a view of his danger, begins

"To tack about and steer another way."

One would be almost led to imagine, at first glance, that his theological opinions generally were approaching a transition state. Such, however, we believe, is not the fact. We should rather say they were vague, inconstant, and fluctuating. We are not always sure, however, that we understand him. He is not accustomed very nicely to weigh and adjust his expressions, and we know not, in all instances, with what degree of rigor we are to interpret them. He is a little too fond of bold and sweeping assertions, and if we understand him according to the letter, it would be often difficult to de-

* Page 290.

fend him from the charge of inconsistency and extravagance.

The volume contains a good deal of minute grammatical criticism, occasionally of a trifling character, and not always expressed in perfectly correct taste. It is a work of no little pretension, and exhibits a show of erudition and research. The Professor especially bandies very familiarly the names of several modern German theologians, and is disposed, we think, to deal a little too much in second-hand learning, a circumstance which occasionally betrays him into errors. As a commentator, we by no means think him entitled to rank in the first class.

On going over the volume before us, we set out with the intention to mark such passages as seemed to us particularly to call for remark, but we soon found ourselves obliged to abandon our design. As we have pretty freely expressed our opinion of its defects, however, we feel bound to adduce some evidence of the correctness of our decision. We might take indiscriminately almost any half dozen pages in succession, in the volume, and we feel little hesitation in affirming, that a careful examination of them would show, that, in what we have just said of the merits of the work, we have not spoken with undue severity. It must be remembered that the performance professes to be thorough and critical, the fruit of long study, * and not a mere popular commentary. In such a performance, loose and superficial remark, illogical inferences, and assertion without proof, constitute, we conceive, a very capital defect.

As a specimen of the Professor's habitual inattention to the laws of correct interpretation, his rashness, and general inaccuracy, we will invite the attention of our readers to portions of his remarks on the first four verses of the Epistle. No part of his commentary is more minute and full, and seldom, we suspect, since the days of Occam and Duns Scotus, has so much labor been expended to so little purpose. We pass over the observations on the name of the Apostle, which stands at the head of the Epistle. In the course of some remarks not very definite or lucid, on the meaning of the next term, translated *servant*, the Professor says "the Apostle

* "I have been long engaged," says the Professor, "in the exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, and have studied it much more than any other part of the Bible." Preface, p. iv.

meant to call himself a *servant* of Christ in a special sense." "If this were not the case," the term, he says, "might be understood as meaning simply *a worshipper* of Christ or of God, *one devoted to his service*," and he refers to several passages in which, as he affirms, the word is so used. Does the Professor mean to say that "*worshipper* of Christ," and "one devoted to his service" as a Christian, are equivalent expressions? If so, and we see not how his language is susceptible of any other meaning, we would ask for proof of the fact. Where, in the New Testament, we would ask, is the expression *servant* of Christ, used as synonymous with *worshipper*? Are christians called worshippers of Christ? The name of Christ occurs in only one of the passages referred to by the Professor. In the Epistle to the Ephesians,* servants are urged to be obedient to their masters, "not with eye-service as men-pleasers; but as the *servants* of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart." But here is not one word of the *worship* of Christ. The Professor's references then utterly fail of establishing his point, and we must repeat our request, that he will tell us where in the New Testament, servant of Christ is used as meaning the same thing precisely as worshipper of Christ.

The Professor's comment on the next two words is too characteristic not to be given entire. It affords a fair specimen, if we except its brevity, of his general manner.

"Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ may mean, either that Christ has bestowed on him the office of δοῦλος which he holds, i. e. it may be *Genitivus auctoris;* or it may mean that the apostle's business or object as δοῦλος, is to promote the cause of Christ, or to forward his work. The sequel shows that the former sense is the one here meant." p. 57.

It is somewhat difficult to extract any consistent meaning from the Professor's observations on the term *servant*, as applied to the Apostle, in the paragraph immediately preceding that just quoted. We should think, however, that the being "devoted to the special service of Christ in his Gospel," which he tells us at its close is what is meant by servant, as the term is there used, was substantially the same thing as the having it for one's "business or object, to promote the cause of Christ, or to forward his work," which he

* vi. 6.

now informs us, is not the sense in which Paul calls himself the servant of Christ.

We cannot assent to all the Professor's remarks on the word *separated*, — "*separated or set apart for the gospel of God.*" "The meaning," he says, "is that God who foreknows all things, did set him apart, choose, select him for the work of the Gospel, *even from the earliest period of his life.*" Now where does the Professor learn that this is the meaning? The original word conveys no such idea, nor does the connexion in which it stands furnish the least hint of it. Paul, we know was miraculously called and set apart to the work of the ministry. This is an historical fact, and it is all which he asserted. That he was set apart and chosen from the first moment of his existence, is an inference of the Professor, which, so far as this passage is concerned, may be true or not. The laws of philology and *exegesis*, to which he so frequently calls our attention, require us, as we have been accustomed to suppose, to distinguish between the *meaning* of a word or phrase, and an *inference* deduced from it. The meaning is one thing, and the inference or theory derived from, or founded upon it, another. Of this distinction the Professor loses sight. "So," he continues, "it is said of Jeremiah, that he was set apart, selected for the prophetic office even before he was formed in his mother's womb; *by all which expressions is meant*, that God knows all persons and events before they exist or take place, and that he has a definite object in view which he intends to accomplish by them." Here again the Professor confounds the *meaning*, with the *inference*. That God "set apart and selected Jeremiah, for the prophetic office" before his existence commenced, even admitting that the phrase is to be understood in its literal and strictest sense, can hardly be said to *mean* that he foreknows all persons and events and has a definite object to accomplish by them. The Professor may think this inference authorized by the expressions alluded to, but to give it as their *meaning*, is, we conceive, to violate the principles of correct exposition. It is in consequence of this loose way of interpreting Scripture that most of the errors by which Christianity is darkened are perpetuated.

How Professor Stuart can make the third and fourth verses; "His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared to

be the Son of God, with power, according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead," as it stands in the Common Version, — speak the language of Trinitarianism, it is difficult to imagine. The passage is thus translated by the Professor, "His Son (who was of the seed of David as to the flesh, [and] was constituted the Son of God, with power, as to his holy spiritual nature, after his resurrection from the dead), Jesus Christ our Lord."

The passage may contain one or two phrases, the construction and meaning of which are somewhat doubtful, but the leading thought, the point, the drift of the whole, is, we conceive, quite obvious, and is the same which often occurs in the speeches and writings of the Apostles, though sometimes expressed in language of greater simplicity. The two prominent circumstances presented by the Apostle are, that Christ was of the lineage of David, and thus answered the prophetic description, and that he was the Messiah, or Son of God; the former "according to the flesh," that is, by natural descent, the latter by designation, of which the fact that he was raised from the dead by a divine energy, afforded proof or confirmation. These we believe are the main facts which St. Paul means to assert; and they are facts which are constantly asserted by him and the other Apostles. It was necessary, in order to the fulfilment of the old prophecies, that Christ should be of the posterity of David, and that Jesus was such, was constantly affirmed by the Apostles. But there was another fact on which they laid vastly more stress, and urged with greater frequency. It was, that he was the Messiah or Christ, the Son of God, a spiritual king. Both these facts are alluded to by Peter in his speech, Acts ii. — "God had sworn with an oath to him [David] that of the fruit of his loins, *according to the flesh*," that is, by natural descent, "he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne," — "him hath God raised up," — "Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ." Both the facts, too, are alluded to by Paul in his speech at Antioch. Acts xiii. 23, 30, 33. "Of this man's seed hath God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus." He adds, after recounting the circumstances of his crucifixion, "But God raised him from the dead." Again, "He hath raised up

Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm; Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee." This language has a very striking resemblance to that of the Apostle in the Epistle to the Romans, in illustration of which we have adduced it. The leading facts, we repeat, are the same in both passages. Neither asserts any thing mysterious in regard to the *nature* of the Saviour. His character and office as the Messiah, the Son of God, a spiritual king, are mentioned, and, as was very natural, in connexion with the fact of his resurrection which prepared the way to his subsequent exaltation to great power and glory, he being made "head over all things to the church." Similar views are often inculcated and dwelt upon in the Epistles of Paul. We refer below to some passages which should be read in connexion with that under notice, by those who find any difficulty in believing that the Apostle has, in the latter, no reference whatever to a divinity of nature in Jesus, but only to his character and office as Messiah, and the power and dignity pertaining to that office, which are uniformly represented as the gift of the Father. *

The Professor, we think, is inclined to see much more in the passage than it really contains. He sets out, it would seem, with the impression, that it must have some latent and mysterious sense. One or two phrases which occur in it, as we have admitted, are in some degree obscure; still we maintain that the great and prominent facts the Apostle intends to assert are quite clear. These the Professor, as we think, in his attempts at minute criticism, overlooks, and having somehow taken up the notion that the doctrine of the divine and human natures in Christ must be recognised in the passage, he has labored with great ingenuity to extract it. We readily accord to him the praise of ingenuity, but a more perverse piece of elaborate criticism we hardly remember to have ever met with.

In the phrase, "according to the flesh," the Professor of course, finds a recognition of the human nature of Christ, as distinguished from his divine or "Messianic" nature, though he points to no example of such a use of the phrase. St. Paul, in chapter ix., verse 3, of the same Epistle, employs it to signify natural descent, when he speaks of his

* Eph. i. 19–23. Phil. ii. 9–11. Col. i. 19. See also Acts v. 30, 31.

brethren, "his kinsmen *according to the flesh*," and the laws of sound interpretation, we conceive, authorize us to attribute no other meaning to it here. It is a Jewish idiom, or mode of speech, the force of which was perfectly well understood at the time; but theologians have mystified every thing.*

The expression which, as the Professor supposes, stands in "contradistinction" to that just mentioned, is what is rendered in our version, "according to the spirit of holiness." What does this phrase then mean? Does it designate Christ's divine nature as distinguished from his human? Not exactly so. The Professor has the perspicacity to see the absurdity of this construction of the phrase in its present connexion. It designates his "*pneumatic* nature or condition." And what is his "pneumatic state, or condition, or nature"? It is "his exalted and glorious state or nature," by which the Professor means, not precisely his divine nature, but a sort of third nature, that is, his "Messianic," which is a compound of the other two. This meaning of the phrase in question he thinks is supported by analogy; for in Hebrews ix. 14., "Christ is said to have offered himself, in the heavenly temple, a spotless victim to God, *in his everlasting pneumatic* or *glorified state*"! † He gives as the meaning of the whole passage, "Of royal descent, even of David's lineage, as to his incarnate state; the Son of God clothed with supreme dominion, in his *pneumatic*, that is, exalted and glorified state. ‡

But what are we to understand by the phrase, "Son of God," in this connexion? Is Jesus called Son of God, because God raised him from the dead, and exalted him to a spiritual kingdom, to a state of great dignity and power, as, in Jewish phraseology, David is said to have been begotten of God, that is, received into a state of peculiar affection and honor, when he was raised by him to a throne? This does not satisfy Professor Stuart. "The *most com-*

* If Christ had no other nature," the Professor asks, page 376, "why should such a distinction as is implied by κατὰ σάρκα, be here designated"? But the same expression is applied to Paul in the passage above referred to. Does it indicate that he had any "*other nature*"? The above specimen of the Professor's mode of arguing shows, we think, that he had some reason for not professing to be "free from all prejudices of education, and all attachment to system."

† pp. 68, 69. ‡ p. 70.

mon use of the phrase, Son of God," he says, "as applied to the Messiah, is to designate the high and mysterious relation, which subsisted between him and God the Father, by virtue of which he was, in his complex person, as *God-man.*" "In this respect," he adds, "Son of God is rather a name of *nature* than of *office*, for it is predicated upon the high and glorious εἰκών, *resemblance*, *similitude*, which the son exhibits of the Father, he being the *radiance* of his glory." * This we believe to be incorrect, and the Professor himself seems to abandon the idea, the next moment, apparently without being aware of the circumstance. — "*In particular*," he says, "it would seem to be one design of the New Testament writers in using the appellation *Son of God*, to convey the idea of a most intimate connexion, love, and fellowship (so to speak), between him and the Father." † Here is no reference to his nature. Again, "That God has given to Christ the spirit without measure, that he dwells in him σωματικῶς, that all counsels and secrets, (so to speak) of the divine Nature are perfectly known to him, seems to be suggested by the appellation *Son of God*, as *frequently* bestowed." ‡ Here, again, is no allusion to the *nature* of Christ. The Professor sums up all by saying, "In *this* sense," the appellation *Son*, as applied to Christ, "is most frequent in the New Testament." In what sense? for he has enumerated several. First, the nature of Christ as *God-man*, "predicated upon his high and glorious εἰκών, *resemblance*, *similitude*"; then there is "intimate connexion, love, and fellowship," and in the third place, the indwelling of the spirit. "In a word," he says, "similitude, affection, confidence, intimate connexion, seem to be designated by the appellation *Son* as applied to Christ." Now, similitude, as he explains it, has reference to the nature of Christ as *God-man*, — and means one thing; affection, confidence, mean another; the indwelling of the Spirit something different still. Yet, "in *this* sense," we are told, the term is "most frequent in the New Testament." We repeat the question, In what sense? The whole is an instance of that looseness and confusion of thought which characterize the larger portion of the volume. There is no book we recollect to have ever read, from which, taking a page or half a

* p. 65. † pp. 65, 66. ‡ p. 66.

page together, we have found it so difficult to extract a clear, definite, and consistent meaning.

The Professor commences the next paragraph by saying,

"But while I am fully satisfied that the term *Son of God* is oftentimes applied to Christ as a name of *nature*, as well as of office; yet I am as fully satisfied, that it is not applied to him considered simply as *divine*, or simply as *Logos*. It designates the *Θεάνθρωπος*, the *God-man*, i. e. the complex person of the Messiah, in distinction from his divine nature simply considered, or his *Logos* state or condition. The exceptions to this are only cases of such a nature, as show that the appellation *Son of God* became by usage, a kind of proper name, which might be applied either to his human nature, or to his divine one, as well as to his complex person." — p. 66.

The assertion contained in the last period of the above extract is really, we must say, a most extraordinary one, and in direct contradiction to what the Professor has said in the preceding paragraphs, viz., that Christ is called the *Son of God*, sometimes on account of his miraculous birth, at other times, as the constituted king or Messiah; again as united with God by affection; and lastly as partaking of his spirit without measure, and the sharer of his "secrets." These are not instances in which the term is applied as "a kind of proper name." Yet the Professor now tells us that the cases in which it is so applied, that is, as a proper name, furnish the only exceptions to the general principle according to which it is used to designate the nature of Christ as *God-man*. But let this pass. What evidence, we would ask, have we that it is ever used to designate the *nature*, or *complex person* of the Messiah as "God-man?" Where is the proof that it refers to the personal nature of the Messiah, and not to office? The Professor offers none, not a particle. To be sure, he directs our attention to those passages in which Christ is said to be the brightness of the Father's glory, *and express image of his person, the image of the invisible God;* he quotes the Apostle as saying, that *it pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell.* — But will the Professor undertake to assert seriously that these and similar expressions prove that Christ had a complex, that is, a divine-human person? And, admitting that he had it, where are we told that he is called *Son of God*, as being such a person, and not simply in virtue of his character and

office as Messiah? We say not that the phrase always designates office, but certainly Professor Stuart has pointed out no instance in which it is used to designate the nature of Christ as *God-man.* He asserts that it is so used, but until he condescends to adduce some shadow of evidence in proof of his assertion we must be allowed to doubt his accuracy.

The conclusion to which the Professor arrives, taken in itself, and according to the ordinary import of language, is in strange incongruity with his premises.

"If," says he, "I rightly understand the meaning of *υἱοῦ θεοῦ*, it designates the *Messiah*, the *King of Israel*, the *Lord of all*, in the passage before us. Such was Christ constituted, after his resurrection from the dead, when he ascended to take his place at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and was made *κληρονόμος πάντων.*" — p. 67.

Here, again, as it will be observed, the idea of *nature* is dropped, and only *office* is alluded to, so difficult does the Professor find it to preserve consistency.

In his remarks on the word *declared*, in the 4th verse, but which the Professor renders *constituted*, — *constituted the Son of God*, — he quotes Grotius, as saying that the "regal dignity of Jesus as the Son of God, was *predestinated*, or *prefigured* when he wrought signs and wonders in his incarnate state;" * and adds, "But how *predestinating* or *constituting* can be made to mean *prefiguring*, I am not aware." Grotius does not say that it does. The truth is, the Professor has misquoted him. Grotius in his version of the passage uses the term *predestinated* simply, in common with the old Latin interpreters generally. Afterwards, in his explanation of the passage, he adds the word *prefigured*, evidently not as synonymous with *predestinated*, but as conveying an additional meaning. He says "predestinated *and* prefigured," not "*or* prefigured," as the Professor has translated it. The two conjunctions, as we take it, are not precisely of the same import. — The Professor has shown a want of exactness in rendering the language of Grotius in another respect. The expression "jam tum cum *mortalem agens vitam*," he translates "in his incarnate state," a phraseology, which when used in reference to the Saviour, at the present day, has always, we believe, a *technical* meaning, which the words of Grotius do not suggest.

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*pp. 61, 62.

Before dismissing this passage, we will advert to a mode of reasoning employed by the Professor, which does not appear to us to be entirely conclusive, and which violates one of his own principles of interpretation. Arguing against the opinion of those who understand the Apostle to assert, as in our common version, that "Jesus was declared to be the son of God, with power, by the resurrection from the dead," he observes, that others were raised from the dead as well as Jesus. Now "an event common to him, to Lazarus, and to many others" he contends, can afford no adequate evidence that he was the Messiah, or Son of God, and therefore he thinks that we ought to reject this construction of the words of the Apostle, and seek a more "simple and unembarrassed meaning." The resurrection of Jesus from the dead, he affirms, was no proof of his Messiahship, and the Apostle could not have meant to assert that it was. * But the question, we beg leave to say, is not what the Apostle could, or could not have asserted, but what he has asserted. This principle the Professor has on several occasions recognised, and pushed it quite as far as we should feel authorized to do. Thus we are bound to admit the "fact that the degradation of our whole race is connected with the first sin of Adam," though, a "matter of divine sovereignty, *altogether beyond our power to fathom.*" "We can speculate, and reason about it, and wonder, but," he adds, "it becomes us to bow in humble submission." † The question, upon this principle, is, Does the Apostle assert it to be a fact, that Jesus was declared to be the Son of God by his resurrection? does he allege the resurrection as a proof or declaration of his Messiahship? If so, the Professor appears bound in consistency to receive it, however seemingly opposed to "carnal reason." He may "speculate, and reason about it, and wonder," but it becomes him to "bow in humble submission."

We think that Acts xiii. 33, already quoted, has somewhat the appearance of a recognition of the fact in question. And indeed if we consider the resurrection of Jesus in connexion with its consequences, that is, in connexion with his subsequent exaltation, to which he alludes, when he says just before his ascension, "All power is given unto me in

* pp. 63, 69, 70. † p. 541.

heaven and in earth," and to which the Apostles, and St. Paul in particular, allude in such passages as the following, "According to the working of his mighty power, which he [God] wrought in Christ, when *he raised him from the dead and set him at his own right hand in heavenly places*, far above all principality and power, — and hath put all things under his feet, and given him to be head over all things to the Church," * — if we consider his resurrection in this connexion, we see no insuperable difficulty in admitting that it constituted some evidence of his Messiahship. We do not perceive how better evidence could be afforded, or desired.

Besides, the instances the Professor adduces, — those of Lazarus and others, — have no analogy whatever with the case of Jesus. This stands alone. Jesus laid claims to the character of a divine messenger; he wrought miracles, and wrought them, as he alleged, in testimony of his heavenly mission; more than this, he repeatedly foretold his resurrection, and expressly appealed to the event as one which would fully establish his pretensions. Now, under these circumstances, is it possible for us to conceive that, had he been an impostor, God would have raised him from the dead, thus performing a most signal miracle only to give sanction to deceit and falsehood? It seems to us that the fact, that God raised him from the tomb, taken in connexion with the several acts of his life, with the character and office to which he laid claim, affords the strongest of all proofs that he was what he professed to be, the Messiah, or Son of God.

Is it possible that the Professor sees no distinction between the resurrection of Jesus, according to this view (and this is the only correct mode of viewing it), and the resurrection of Lazarus, and "others raised from the dead by Christ, by the Apostles, by Elijah, and the bones of Elisha"? He speaks of what the resurrection of Jesus can or cannot "of itself demonstrate." "Of itself"! Does he mean considered as an insulated fact, having no connexion with his life and pretensions, and the state of power and glory to which it was preparatory? Considered as the mere return of the breath of life to a cold, inanimate form?

* Eph. i. 19-22.

So his argument supposes. But we cannot so regard it. And was it ever before so regarded by any mortal?

Thus far we have confined ourselves to an examination of Professor Stuart's translation and commentary on portions of the first four verses of the Epistle, which he has attempted to explain. Not to be too tedious, we have passed over much which appeared to us exceptionable, or, at least, of doubtful propriety. As it is, we are almost ashamed of the length to which our remarks have been protracted. But we were desirous to give our readers a specimen of what is to be found in the volume, and for this purpose took the passage which first came to hand. We are not aware of having done the Professor injustice. It is pretty evident, we think, that his claims to respect as a commentator, whatever they are, do not rest on precision, accuracy, and a judicious use of learning.

The following statement, among others, appears somewhat extraordinary, as coming from one who professes to have advanced in his book, "no opinions which have been hastily taken up." "Finally, the Apostle *every where* opposes the δικαίωσις or δικαιοσύνη of the gospel, to that justification which results from works in general, works of any kind whatever." * That he sometimes "opposes," the justification obtained through faith, to justification by the works of law, that is, law in general, any law or rule binding on conscience, whether written or unwritten, inscribed on the heart, or engraved on tables of stone, for this is what the Professor means, may be true. If so, however, we believe that it is only in a comparatively small number of instances, and not as he asserts, always. The opposition or comparison of which he speaks is, in general, as we conceive, not between faith or the result of faith in Christ, and obedience to the great moral law of conscience, as he affirms, but between the claims of Christianity and Judaism, as affording means and helps to justification and life. Passages enough occur, we should think, in the Epistle under his immediate notice, to convince him that such was the contrast or comparison sometimes intended. In fact, the great question discussed by St. Paul in nearly all his Epistles addressed to churches or communities of Christians,

* p. 158.

related to the comparative excellence and claims of the two religions.

The Jews contended that they were to be saved by Judaism, or the influences of Judaism, that is by the law, the Mosaic dispensation, which laid great stress on ritual observances. Those of them who embraced Christianity, as it is well known, long entertained very imperfect conceptions of its nature and design. They supposed it only a sort of appendage to Judaism, an exposition of its great principles, something perfective of it, perhaps, — certainly not an institution designed to supersede it. Thus they continued to make use of its ritual forms, and imagined that Judaism was still to survive, — was to be perpetual. So fully convinced were they of this, that the attempt was made, as we know, to compel the Gentile converts to an observance of the ceremonial law, and thus in the language of St. Paul to bring them into "bondage."

In several of the communities of Christians to which the Apostle addressed letters, as it appears from the face of the letters themselves, there existed Judaizing teachers, who endeavoured to seduce the new converts from their allegiance to the religion of Jesus, and make Jews of them, that is, so far at least as to induce them to submit to the outward rites of the Mosaic institution. Was this necessary? Which was superior, Judaism or Christianity? Which was principal, and which secondary? Were persons to be saved by Judaism, and the means and influences it employed, or by Christianity with the means it adopted, and the influences it employed, including all those emanating from the life, character, death, resurrection, and subsequent exaltation of its founder? Or, (to adhere to the Scripture phraseology) were they to be saved by faith or works? by faith in the divine mission and authority of Jesus with its legitimate effects, or by an adherence to the Mosaic law of ordinances?

This was the great controversy discussed by the Apostle. The question, we repeat, was, were persons to be saved by faith, or by works of *the* law, particularly the ritual part of it, that is, by Christianity or Judaism, — and not, as Professor Stuart's language implies, whether they were to be saved by faith, that is, in "Christ's atoning blood," or obedience to the law of conscience, — a diligent discharge of every

moral duty. Such, surely, was not the question which St. Paul discussed throughout; such was not the opposition or contrast *every where* intended. Such a contrast may occasionally occur in his Epistles, but to assert with Professor Stuart that such is the contrast *always* intended by St. Paul, that when he speaks of faith and works as in opposition to each other, or rather, as we should say, in the way of comparison, he *never* means by the latter the works of the Jewish law, shows, as it seems to us, an entire misconception of the current language of his Epistles.

How any one can read the Epistle to the Galatians, and doubt that the question there discussed relates to the comparative claims of Judaism and Christianity, as regards the means of justification, — how any one can doubt, in other words, that the contrast or comparison there intended, is between the righteousness that is of the law, that is, the Jewish law, and that which is of Christ, we find it difficult to conceive. Not to insist on particular expressions which we might quote in abundance, the general strain of the Apostle's language affords conclusive evidence, we think, that he is contrasting Christianity with Judaism. He does not say, Ye are to receive justification by faith, and not seek that which "results from works of any kind," from obedience to the law of conscience, as Professor Stuart makes him. His doctrine is, Ye are to be saved by Christianity; ye cannot obtain justification by Jewish observances. Judaism is too feeble an instrument, as it has been proved; Christianity is a spirit of power; the influences it employs are far more efficacious and exalted, than those of Judaism; far better adapted to nourish a spirit of holiness and immortal love, to purify the soul from sin, and guide it up to its Father.

When St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians, contrasting his Jewish with his Christian state, says, "touching the righteousness which is in the law blameless" — "circumcised the eighth day," "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," &c. and adds "but what things were gain to me, those I counted but loss for Christ" — "that I may win Christ, and be found in him not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ" * — does he allude to "works in general," to moral righteousness, to fidelity to conscience and to duty? Has he no reference

* Phil. iii. 4–9.

to the observances of the Jewish law, as a supposed ground of justification? So Professor Stuart must contend.

Christians in modern times have puzzled themselves about the question of faith and works, and have appealed to the language of St. Paul, often, as we think, very injudiciously. It has no application whatever to the subject. The great controversy in the Apostle's day had scarcely a feature of resemblance to that which has agitated the Christian world since the Reformation. It turned almost exclusively on this point, — Were men to be justified, saved, made holy and acceptable to God, by Christianity or Judaism? for that is what is meant by faith and works. Which was entitled to the preference? Which was all-sufficient? Christianity surely, as the Apostle contends. That was perfect; that was full and complete in itself, in its revelations and influences, its means and its object. Judaism was but a "shadow of good things to come." Christianity was the substance. To seek justification, holiness, perfection, by Judaism, was to go back to the "weak and beggarly elements," to renounce the spirit for the letter. In regard to this subject, Professor Stuart, we regret to say, seems not to have risen superior to the common prejudices of education, which as a scholar and theologian he should by this time have discarded. He has totally mistaken, we think, the main drift of the Apostle's reasoning throughout the greater part of his Epistles.

We think that the Professor has frequently allowed his theological opinions, unconsciously, we doubt not, to influence his decisions, and we would point as an instance to his interpretation of Rom. i. 7. "Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ." By what law of interpretation does the Professor consider this wish as a "*prayer*" addressed to Christ, "as well as" to the Father? It is, we conceive, no direct address at all, but simply an expression of desire; a wish of favor, peace, and happiness. May the Divine favor attend you; — May all prosperity attend you as Christians; — May you share all the blessings, all the peaceful influences of the religion of Jesus. The Apostle adopts a mode of expression analogous to the Eastern form of salutation, which we believe was never considered as implying a direct act of prayer. If so, the Professor, we think, should have adduced some

evidence of the fact. He has attempted to adduce none. When Jesus commissioned the seventy disciples, he says, "Into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, 'Peace be to this house.'" Did these words imply a direct act of prayer? They must, we conceive, upon Professor Stuart's principle of exposition. We cannot admit such a principle as sound.

As another instance, we would refer our readers to the interpretation which is given of the term *death*, as it occurs in chap. v. verses 12 and 14. "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" — "nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses." Will it be believed that the Professor supposes, that by death in this place is meant the *death of the soul*, or rather death both of the body and soul? Such he thinks was the threatening to Adam, — death temporal and eternal, in case of disobedience. "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die," meant, thou shalt live and be exposed to suffer woe upon woe, — woe upon woe, for ever and ever. Is this to interpret Scripture, or to torture it?

The Professor refers to Bretschneider as asserting that the preposition διὰ with the genitive after it "designates not the *efficient* cause, but only the *means* or *occasion* of a thing," and blames him for the assertion. By *efficient*, it seems the Professor understands *principal* cause, and as an instance in which the preposition is used to designate this cause he appeals to John i. 3. "All things were made by him." Now, by what authority, we would ask, does the Professor assume it as an undisputed fact that the preposition here indicates the *efficient*, or primary cause? Does he not know that among those who have supposed that the passage has reference to Christ and to the material world as formed by him, many have maintained that he was only the *instrument* of the Father in its creation. So Origen believed, for commenting on the passage, he says that διὰ always designates secondary agency, and he refers, as an example, to Heb. i. 2. "By whom he [God] made the worlds." So, he says, in the passage under consideration the preposition indicates that all things were made by the *logos* or Son, not as the *primary*, but only the *secondary* or

instrumental cause. * And so the Ante-Nicene Fathers generally believed.

The Professor gives as another instance John iii. 17; — "For God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world *through* him might be saved." A more unfortunate selection could not have been made; for nothing can be plainer than that Christ is here spoken of not as the principal, but only the secondary or occasional cause, that is, the instrument. "God," it is said, "*God sent* his Son — that the world *through* him," as the Mediator, "might be saved."

Once more, those, who are accustomed to esteem Professor Stuart as a sound and impartial critic, must read with a little surprise, we should think, his remarks on the word *redemption*, in Rom. iii. 24. He does not allow that this word or the kindred term *redeem*, is ever used in a figurative sense, to signifiy generally *deliverance*, or to *deliver*, without reference to any price paid. He assigns to the word only two meanings, the *act* of paying the *price of ransom*, and the *consequences* of this act, that is, the redemption which follows it. In the latter sense, he asserts, it is used in the text, that is to signify redemption as the consequence of the price paid for us by Christ. That the term, however, is not generally used in this sense, in the Scriptures, is too plain, we suppose, to be disputed. In the sense in which it is commonly employed by the sacred writers, the literal and radical meaning is dropped, and it is used to signify simply deliverance from any evil or calamity temporal or spiritual. Thus God is said repeatedly to have redeemed the children of Israel, redeemed them out of the house of bondage, and from the hand of Pharaoh, not surely by paying him a price of ransom. The Psalmist speaks of redemption from "troubles," — of redemption, that is, deliverance, of the soul from the grave. Jesus, alluding to the evils which were to fall on the Jews, and involve the destruction of their city, says, to his disciples, "And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads, for your *redemption* draweth nigh," † deliverance from temporal evils surely, without an equivalent paid. And Paul in this very Epistle, viii. 23, speaks of

* Opp. T. IV. p. 60, Ed. Delarue. † Luke xxi. 28.

the "*redemption* of the body," deliverance from this frail, suffering state. Will Professor Stuart deny that the term is often so used in the Scriptures, that is, to signify deliverance from evil without an equivalent paid? This he has virtually done, since in professing to give the different significations of the term he has excluded this. But will he undertake openly to justify the exclusion?

The Professor has told us very explicitly what he understands by the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. It is deliverance purchased by an equivalent paid. "The death of Christ," he says, "is an expedient of infinite wisdom, by which the full claims of the law may be admitted and yet the penalty avoided, because a moral *compensation* or *equivalent* has been provided, by the sufferings of him who died in the sinner's stead," * that is, if the Professor's language has any consistent meaning, the sufferings of Christ are equivalent, fully equal, to all the sufferings temporal and eternal, due to the sins of all human beings through all past and coming time. "God," he tells us, "will not give up the penalty of his law without an *adequate substitute* for it." † By the "penalty of the law," as the Professor is sufficiently careful to inform us, in another place, he means, all evil, temporal and eternal, to which the sinner is exposed in consequence of the introduction of sin into the world. For this the sufferings of Christ were an "adequate substitute." Their efficacy, or the benefit accruing from them, the Professor says, extends "to all ages of the world, to all past generations, and nations; i. e. is capable of such an extent, where such a faith as God requires is exhibited," ‡ that is, as he has expressed it, where "faith is *exercised* in the blood, i. e. death of the victim offered. In other words," he continues, "Christ makes expiation which is effectual for such and only such, as trust or put confidence in his atoning blood." §

Could the heathen who never heard of Christ "*exercise*" this faith? Can infants now "exercise" it? Oh no, that is quite impossible. Can they then be saved? This question the Professor has answered explicitly with regard to infants, who die in infancy. True, some change must be wrought in them, to fit them for heaven. But this, Christ

* p. 170. † ib. ‡ p. 169. § p. 166.

can work by his spirit *without faith* on their part, "for when Christ says, He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned; he obviously means to speak only of such as are capable of believing." And the same, says the Professor, of repentance. Christ then *can* save [infants] "without faith and repentance." This the Professor admits. So then, "faith in Christ's atoning blood" is necessary, and is not necessary. It is not necessary in the case of infants. And how is it with others? How was it with Abraham, for example? had he faith in "the blood of the offered victim"? No, by no means. "The faith of Abraham, as described in Gen. xv. 6." says the Professor, "is not appropriately faith in Christ." But then, "all *true* faith is of one and the same nature, and is connected with the like blessings. All true faith is *confidence in God.*" * Very well. But what then becomes of the Professor's principle that Christ can save only such as "put confidence in his atoning blood"? It is given up, for aught we can see.

One word in regard to the ransom. "Christ," the Professor tells us, "has paid the ransom and procured our freedom, when we were slaves and captives of sin and Satan." † Will the Professor have the goodness, to inform us to whom the ransom in this case was paid. It is usual, we believe, to pay it to the party holding another in bondage, to the party to whom another is captive. This, in the present case, the Professor asserts to have been "sin and Satan." Was the price then paid to "sin and Satan," as an equivalent for letting sinners go? This the Professor must admit, if he insists rigidly, as he seems disposed to do, on his metaphor. The price could not, to adopt the words of Locke, "be paid to God, in strictness of justice, (for that is made the argument here); unless the same person ought, by that strict justice, to have both the thing redeemed, and the price paid for its redemption." Besides, if God received the equivalent, then is not the sinner pardoned freely, but is authorized to demand forgiveness as matter of justice.

We have taken occasion to exhibit some specimens of the Professor's orthodoxy. We will now, by way of compensation, give a few examples of his liberality of sentiment. We suppose that we ought not to include in these the lan-

* p. 177. † p. 164.

guage in which he speaks of the Saviour as possessing derived power and glory, since we take it for granted that whenever he thus speaks of him, he will tell us that he refers not to his divine, but either to his human, or "Messianic" nature, for, as already observed, he has innovated a little in regard to his natures, assigning to him three instead of two, with which Trinitarians were formerly content. Some of this language however, is too remarkable not to be quoted. We view it as an involuntary homage paid to Unitarianism.* The Professor may explain it as he will, its natural import is Unitarian, and the extent to which he has used it, only shows that it is no easy matter to be a consistent and practical Trinitarian.

The Professor is at some pains to prove by several references, what no Unitarian ever doubted, that "the Gospel is of God, and that Christ taught it as received from him." * Again, he says, "God did indeed prepare the way for universal dominion to be *given* to Christ, by *raising* him from the dead." † Again, he states the proposition, that "God has *raised* him [Jesus] from the dead, and *exalted* him to a throne of universal dominion," as part of the faith of every Christian. He adds, "the Apostle means to say, not that *universal dominion* was the principal object of Christ's death, but that this was a fruit or consequence of it." ‡

The Professor's views of the inspiration of the Saviour and his Apostles, may be learned from the following passage, which must sound strange, we suspect, to some orthodox ears.

"But one thing is clear from this, and many other like passages, viz. that the apostles were not *uniformly* and *always* guided in *all* their thoughts, desires, and purposes, by an infallible Spirit of inspiration. Had this been the case, how could Paul have *often* purposed that which never came to pass? Those who plead for such a *uniform* inspiration, may seem to be zealous for the honor of the apostles and founders of Christianity; but they do in fact cherish a mistaken zeal. For if we once admit, that the apostles were *uniformly* inspired in *all* which they purposed, said, or did; then we are constrained of course to admit that men acting under the influence of inspiration, may purpose that which will never come to pass or be done; may say that which is hasty or incorrect, Acts xxiii. 3,

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* p. 58. † p. 63. ‡ p. 496.

or do that which the gospel disapproves, Gal. ii. 13, 14. But when this is once fully admitted, it makes nothing for the credit due to any man, to affirm that he is *inspired*; for what is that inspiration to be accounted of, which, even, during its continuance, does not guard the subject of it from mistake or error? Consequently those who maintain the *uniform* inspiration of the apostles, and yet admit (as they are compelled to do) their errors in purpose, word, and action, do in effect obscure the glory of inspiration, by reducing inspired and uninspired men to the same level.

"To my own mind nothing appears more certain, than that inspiration, in any respect whatever, was not *abiding* and *uniform* with the apostles or any of the primitive Christians. To God's only and well beloved Son, and to him only, was it given to have the Spirit ἀμετρῶς or οὐ ἐκ μέτρου, John iii. 34. All others on whom was bestowed the precious gift of inspiration, enjoyed it only ἐκ μέτρου. The consequence of this was, that Jesus 'knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth'; but all his followers, in so far as they were left without the special and miraculous guidance of the Spirit, committed more or less of error.

"This view of the subject frees it from many and most formidable difficulties. It assigns to the Saviour the *preëminence* which is justly due. It accounts for the mistakes and errors of his apostles. At the same time, it does not detract, in the least degree, from the certainty and validity of the apostolic sayings and doings, when these ministers of the gospel were under the special influence of the Spirit of God."—pp. 78, 79.

The Unitarians have been much blamed for expressing similiar views, and doubtless, an Orthodox professor may say many things which it would be exceedingly wrong in us to utter.

Upon the assertion of the Apostle, "The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be," Rom. viii. 7, the Professor observes,

"The very nature of a carnal mind, is to gratify *carnal* and *sinful* desires, viz. those desires, which the law of God prohibits. Of course this mind or disposition, just so far as it prevails, leads to the very opposite of subjection to God's law, i. e. leads to disobedience. From its very nature, this cannot be otherwise."—p. 315.

"'How,' says Augustine (and much to the point), 'can snow be warmed? For when it is melted and becomes warm,

it is no longer snow.' And so it is with the carnal mind. Just so long as it exists, and in just such proportion as it exists, it is and will be enmity against God, and disobey his law. But whether the sinner who cherishes this φρόνημα σαρκὸς, is not actuated by other principles also, and urged by other motives, and possessed of ability to turn from his evil ways — ability arising from other sources — does not seem to be satisfactorily determined by this expression. So much, however, does seem to be decided by it, viz. that so long as this φρόνημα σαρκὸς is the predominant principle within him, so long he will continually disobey the law of God. Such a disposition is in itself utterly incompatible with obedience." — p. 316.

We have no very serious objection to this.

The Professor seems to have come over to the Unitarian views too, if we may believe him, as regards the Reformers, at least so far as relates to the doctrine of original sin.

"Much then and sincerely as I reverence the immortal men who fought the battles of the Reformation, and those who have followed in their steps, and illustrated and defended what they wrote; much as I reverence that most eminent man of God, President Edwards, one of the deepest thinkers, clearest reasoners, and yet most pious ministers that has lived in any age or country; yet I feel bound to reverence what I must regard as the decisions of the Bible still more. Those decisions relative to the point in question, do seem to me, after long and painful examination, to be plainly and explicitly against them." — p. 544.

Again,

"The result of extensive and candid reading, in regard to the history of the doctrine in question, will be, as I must think, a full persuasion, that in the form and shape in which this doctrine was maintained by most of the Reformers, it was first introduced by Augustine, in his dispute with Pelagius; from whose works, and those of his friends and followers, it came into the creeds of the Reformation; and thence it has come down to us. The whole subject needs, in this country, an investigation and review *de novo*, such as it has not yet received." — pp. 552, 553.

If from all this, our readers deduce the inference that Professor Stuart's opinions are in a somewhat chaotic state, all we can say is, we are much of the same mind. The volume too is disfigured with a good deal of pedantry. Why cannot the Professor condescend now and then to write a little English? We are greeted with Latin on the very title

page, — "A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, with a Translation and various *Excursus*;" and the whole volume bristles with the Professor's favorite "*usus loquendi.*" Then we hear not a little of "epexegetical clauses;" our attention is called to the "*Messianic* interpretation of Isaiah, viii. 14,"— to the "*γάρ illustrantis* vel *confirmantis*"; to the "*μεν* of a *protasis*, to which indeed no apodosis succeeds;" to the "*Genitivus auctoris*," and the "*Genitivus objecti.*" But these phrases are used, we suppose, as the Professor says, "*breviloquentiæ causâ.*"

Some of the Professor's philological criticisms are such as we should hardly expect to find in any but the most elemental treatise, and could hardly be necessary to the class of readers to whom the Commentary is addressed. Now and then one occurs at which we can scarcely suppress a smile. Thus the Professor very gravely tells his readers that the expression, *sufferings of this present time*, Rom. viii. 18, "surely does not mean the sufferings which *time* endures as the subject of them, but those which Christians endure while they continue in the present world. The Genitive here is the *Genitivus temporis*, i. e. it marks the time belonging to the noun which precedes it, the designation of which is intended to qualify that noun"! *

On the whole, however, we think, the publication will be useful. Taken all in all, to be sure, we do not regard it as constituting any very valuable accession to the treasures of theological criticism. It is exceedingly prolix, abounding in crude, forced, and unnatural interpretations, remarks, and inferences, and as a whole is inferior to several Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans, already in existence. Still we say, it may be useful, for it contains views which, though not novel, though familiar to the best theologians of the old school, Trinitarians too, as far back as the time of Grotius, the Orthodox of our own country have been slow to receive, or have even regarded with horror, but for which the estimation in which Professor Stuart is holden by a certain portion of the community, may tend to procure some degree of favor.

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* p. 326.

ART. V. — *A Manual Hebrew Grammar for the use of Beginners.* By J. SEIXAS. Andover. Flagg, Gould, & Newman. 1833. pp. 54.

JUDAH MONIS, a converted Jew, for a large part of the last century Hebrew instructer in Harvard University, prepared a small Hebrew Grammar, adapted to convey in a simple, intelligible form all necessary elementary instruction. His arrangement is natural, his examples are well chosen, and his book is entirely free from those unprofitable details by which an author often aims to convey this simple idea: "*I am a marvellously learned man.*" Professors Sewall and Willard followed the example of their predecessor; and the Hebrew Grammar of the latter we deemed (until we saw that of Seixas) the best that had appeared in this country, and were very solicitous that it should be republished for the use of the University. But it has for several years been superseded by Professor Stuart's Grammar, — a work redolent with Oriental learning, but marked by many great faults, some of which we beg leave to enumerate.

And in the first place, the student, on opening Mr. Stuart's Grammar, is appalled by the barbarous orthography of the names of Hebrew letters and characters, in order to acquire which he is obliged to tune his voice to an entirely new pronunciation of the elements of his mother tongue, — nay, to annex sounds to combinations of letters which no mortal ever sounded before. For instance, the names of three of the vowel points which Seixas writes and Stuart pronounces *Kaumets*, *Kibboots* and *Kheerek*, Stuart writes *Qamets*, *Qibbuts and Hhireq*. Then Stuart's system of Hebrew pronunciation is very defective. He gives no definite direction for sounding the letter ע, makes no practicable distinction between the pronunciation of ה and ח (the former of which he represents by *h*, the latter by *hh*), and attaches to several of the aspirated consonants sounds but remotely allied to those attached to the same letters when *dageshed*. His system of the vowel points is complicated and obscure. It was rendered peculiarly so in his first two editions by the introduction of a class of *medial* vowels, which differed not materially in sound or position from the corresponding long vowels. In the last edition we notice

several redundancies in the table of the vowel points, though the medial vowels are merged in the long. We farther dislike Mr. Stuart's book on account of its style. He has been too exclusively conversant with other tongues, to write English concisely, purely, or even lucidly. He in this Grammar uses fewer foreign *words* than in his other works; but his *idioms* are all foreign. He multiplies technical terms unnecessarily. Where the point to be illustrated is very manifest, he obscures it by his prolixity, and seldom permits himself to write concisely except where the difficulty of the topic would demand diffuseness. His Grammar is also overloaded with Masoretic lore. It contains a great deal which none but the thorough Hebrew scholar can understand, and a great deal that rests on mere hypothesis; and all this is so blended with the elementary and indubitable principles, that it would require a well practised eye to make the necessary discriminations. The nouns, as arranged in Stuart's Grammar, could never be mastered by a tyro; and we doubt whether any man, but its author, ever retained in memory his system of declensions. He divides the nouns into *thirteen* declensions, and this not on any general principle of subdivision, not on thirteen definite affinities, but on partial and vague resemblances. The fact is, that there is no ground whatever for the division of Hebrew nouns into declensions, unless we should make a declension for every five or six nouns. But the greatest objection to Mr. Stuart's Grammar is its inaccuracies, which are numerous in the body of the work, and from which even the long list of errata is not free. While therefore we value this work as a *Thesaurus* of philological learning, we cannot recommend it as a *manual for beginners.*

A book worthy of all commendation as a *manual* we are glad to see issued from the Andover press. It bears the name of a gentleman of Jewish parentage, to whose skill in the language of his fathers several hundred pupils are ready to bear witness. He modestly expresses a doubt whether his Grammar is competent to impart a good knowledge of Hebrew without an instructer. We have entertained a similar doubt with respect to every other Grammar that we have seen; but with no other aid than *this* a man of mature mind might, in our opinion, make himself a good Hebrew scholar

In the book before us conciseness of style, precision of statement, and a natural arrangement seem to have been the author's aim. He discriminates in pronunciation between some of those consonants that usually bear the same sound, and are consequently interchanged in the memory of the student. There still however remain three pairs of consonants which cannot be discriminated in pronunciation, viz. ט and ת, ב and ק, ס and ש. Since grammarians ordinarily assume the right of adjusting the pronunciation of a dead language to the convenience of its living readers, we would humbly suggest the propriety of distinguishing these letters from each other in sound as well as shape. To this end we would propose that both ת and ת be pronounced like *th;* ק like *qu,* and both ש and שׂ like *sh.* Then, with Seixas's pronunciation of the other consonants, every student would be able to spell correctly any word the sound of which he remembered.

Seixas divides the eight vowels into three long, three short, and two (Kaumets and Kheerek) common. Stuart divides the same vowels into *A*, *E* and *O* classes, to two of which two of the vowels belong; and makes three long and five common vowels, giving very prolix and intangible rules for ascertaining whether these latter in any particular position be long or short. Seixas's table of the vowels occupies half a page, and his additional remarks on them nearly a page; and he makes the whole system perfectly clear. Stuart occupies a dozen pages or more upon them; and the pupil whom his teacher inconsiderately tasks to peruse these pages, is strongly moved to throw up Hebrew in despair.

Seixas attempts no division of the nouns; but lays down distinctly the principles on which the vowel points are changed or fall away, leaving the pupil to apply those principles to the *construct* and *suffix* states of nouns.

We like the mode in which our author has arranged the paradigms of nouns and verbs; and would recommend it in the construction of grammars for any language. The usual practice is to take some simple ground-form, and decline it through each case, number, gender, or person, writing under each the entire word. Seixas in declining indicates by a dash the place occupied by the letters of the ground-form, and writes only the preformative or sufformative letters appropriate to the case, number, gender, or person. The follow-

ing paradigm of the future tense of the regular verb will serve as an example.

"SINGULAR. (KAL.)

Paragogic Letters.		
	פָּקַד	*he visited.*
ה	—— יִ	*he shall* or *will, let him, it, may he, it.*
ה	—— תִּ	*she* " " *let her, thou shalt,* masc.
ן	יִ —— תִּ	*thou shalt* or *wilt,* fem.
ה	—— אֶ	*I shall* or *will, let me.*

PLURAL.

ה	—— נִ	*we shall* or *will, let us.*
ן	וּ —— תִּ	*ye* " " masc.
ן	יִ, יֶ, יָ, יוּ, יֵ, יְ, יֹ, יֲ, יֱ, יָה —— תִּ or וּ —— יִ	*ye* or *they shall, let them,* fem, *they shall* or *will, let them,* fem."

p. 14.

By a paradigm like this a learner will be able to perceive at the first glance what changes must be made in any ground-form whatever to give it a particular meaning, and can mentally fill the blank with one ground-form after another. But where this blank is filled, it requires a two-fold operation to decline a new word; for the learner must mentally expunge the letters appertaining to his example, and then fill this imagined void by the new ground-form, — an operation in which, as every teacher knows, practice rarely makes perfect.

Notwithstanding the small compass within which this Grammar is comprised, we find nothing omitted which ought to be inserted, and nothing inserted which is not correctly and clearly expressed. But little is said of the syntax of the language, the usual rules of which are not needed by one who is familiar with the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and would be useless to any one else. With the exception of such rules and much nugatory Masoretic lore, the whole substance of Stuart's large Grammar is contained in this very small one. An additional value is given to this manual by two supplementary tables, one containing the *Imperatives, and Infinitives of Defective Verbs,* and the other an alphabetical list of *Peculiar and Anomalous Forms* found in the *Hebrew Bible.*

"Those who read this work," says our author in his Preface "will doubtless wonder at, or find fault with, the singular arrangements of the rules; but although I do not follow the order of philosophy, yet I follow, as it seems to me, the order of

nature; or perhaps I should say, the order which I prefer for my pupils." — p. iii.

In accordance with this principle, Mr. Seixas places nouns before verbs in his Grammar, though in the Hebrew the former are generally derived from the latter. In accordance with the same, he scatters orthographical rules through the whole of his book, instead of rolling them together into an insurmountable mass at its very threshold. This we deem an invaluable principle in the preparation of literary and scientific text-books. Let every elementary work commence with those facts or reasonings which the pupil can understand most easily; let these be followed not by detached facts or reasonings, but by such as he can combine with the preceding; and let the work be so laid out, that, if the pupil should suspend his study at the end of any one of the subdivisions, the part he may have studied shall be a complete whole, and shall have given him thorough and connected information on some aliquot part of the whole subject. This mode of preparing text-books would usher in a new era upon our schools and colleges.

In conclusion, we give the book before us our unqualified commendation, and its author our hearty thanks for his services to the cause of Biblical learning.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of the late* Reverend THOMAS BELSHAM, *a brief Notice of his published Works, copious Extracts from his Diary, together with Letters to and from his Friends and Correspondents.* By JOHN WILLIAMS. London. 1833. 8vo. pp. 776.

MR. BELSHAM'S name became generally known in this country in 1815 by the publication here of the account of American Unitarianism given in his Memoirs of Lindsey. It was the practice of the orthodox at that time, and for some years afterwards, to cull out of the works of English Unitarians, and particularly of this writer, offensive and objectionable passages, garbling them where it was necessary, and to represent these as affording a fair specimen of the doctrines held by the liberal churches in Boston and its vicinity. This course had the effect to propagate among the ill-inform-

ed the most unfavorable prejudices against Mr. Belsham, and induced even in the liberally-minded, and in avowed Unitarians, not only a strong unwillingness to be identified with him in his speculations, but a general shyness and distrust in regard to himself and his writings. Time, reflection, inquiry, and the changes which have taken place in other respects, have not tended to reconcile the Unitarians of this country to many of the most obnoxious sentiments of the subject of this memoir, but they have done much to dispel the general shyness and distrust just mentioned. Accordingly we are better prepared than at any former period, with the ample materials now before us, to form a just estimate of Mr. Belsham's character and genius, and of the value of his public services. *

He was born at Bedford, April 15, 1750, o. s. His father, James Belsham, was an orthodox dissenting divine, respected for his character, talents, and learning, but not popular or acceptable as a preacher. He had been settled at Bishop's Stortford, and after removing from that place he officiated for a time at Newport Pagnel, in the neighbourhood of Bedford, Bedford, however, being his home. Here, while settled at Bishop's Stortford, he had married Anne, daughter of Mr. Woodward, an eminent brewer, by a daughter of Sir Francis Wingate, Knight of Harlington, Bedfordshire, and of the lady Anne Annesley, daughter of Arthur, first earl of Anglesey of that name, who was Lord privy seal under Charles II. Through this excellent lady, his mother, Thomas, the subject of this memoir, was connected with a family of considerable influence in that county, zealously devoted to the whig interest in politics, and in religion rigid Independents. Through her, also, he was collaterally related to the truly liberal and gifted family of the Aikins.

Mr. Belsham, writing in 1806, gives the following account of his early studies.

* The Memoirs under review, though sufficiently full and impartial, are not, we regret to say, very judiciously collected and arranged. For further information respecting Mr. Belsham, the reader is referred to notices in his own works, and particularly in his Memoirs of Lindsey, and in the Preface to his "Calm Inquiry"; to the seventh and eighth chapters of Dr. Carpenter's Reply to Bishop Magee; to an Essay, in three numbers, "On the Character and Writings of the Rev. T. Belsham," in the Monthly Repository for 1830; and to the Funeral Sermons, on occasion of his death, by the Rev. Messrs. Madge, Aspland, and Kentish.

"Till 1757, I lived at home, went to a day-school, met with little indulgence, but much attention to health and instruction. From June, 1757, to June, 1758, I was at Kibworth under Dr. Aikin, and, for the time of life, it was a year of pleasure and improvement. From July, 1758, to June, 1762, I was at Wellingborough, under Mr. French, a time which I reflect upon with little satisfaction, having enjoyed little pleasure, and made little improvement. From July, 1762, to August, 1766, I was at Ware, having removed thither with Mr. French. If possible, less attention was paid to instruction here than at Wellingborough, and my time was deplorably and irrecoverably lost. Upon the whole, however, these four years have left a pleasant impression upon my mind. The scholars were numerous, and the boys in general of good morals. I met with many agreeable companions, and formed friendships, which have been a pleasure and advantage through life." — pp. 4, 5.

Another witness is here introduced by the biographer, who speaks much more favorably of Mr. Belsham's proficiency, and general standing and connexion at this time.

"'In the beginning of the year 1764,' observes Mr. William Smith, late M. P. for the city of Norwich, 'I was placed at eight years of age, with the highly-respectable Mr. French, who had recently taken the management of a Dissenting school at Ware. Here I found the late Mr. Belsham, six years older than myself, and, from his attainments and conduct, in high favor with his master. He was able, and proved himself willing, to afford me protection and encouragement, and to him, I believe, I owed the exceeding kindness which, for five years, I received from Mr. French. Mr. Belsham left Ware, I think in the year 1766, for Daventry, whither I followed him in 1769, he being then in the fourth year of his course, — so that our intercourse, before most friendly, and then renewed with additional advantage, lasted but a short time at either place, but was kept up by personal visits and epistolary correspondence, without interruption, or a single interval of coolness, during the remainder of his natural and intellectual life."

"My correspondent's testimony to the good conduct of Mr. French's pupils is highly creditable to the attention and vigilance of that gentleman, and to the moral discipline maintained in his seminary. 'I think I can say,' continues Mr. Smith, 'that I never heard an oath, or a flagrantly indecent expression uttered by any boy during the five years of my continuance at Ware. I cannot refrain from adding my testimony, also, to the almost singular purity of conduct, as I fear, of the students at Daventry, especially considering their period of life, from sixteen to twenty-one.'" — pp. 5, 6.

From Ware, in August, 1766, Mr. Belsham went to Daventry, and was admitted into the Dissenting Academy in that place, then under the superintendence of Dr. Ashworth, the successor of the pious and learned Doddridge, and remained there as a student till the year 1771. This seminary, first established at Northampton, then removed to Daventry, afterwards back again to Northampton, and subsequently to Wymondely, is dear to the friends of sound learning and rational piety, as having been, under Dr. Doddridge the founder, the *alma mater* of Hugh Farmer, Andrew Kippis, and Newcome Cappe. At the time of which we are now speaking it was one of the most respectable, and, through the patronage of Mr. Coward's trustees, one of the best endowed, literary institutions among the Dissenters; consisting of from twenty to forty students under the tuition of the superintendent, who generally instructed in theology and in moral and intellectual philosophy; and of two Assistants, one in mathematics and natural philosophy, and the other in the languages. Though lay-students were received, it seems never to have been lost sight of as the primary object of the institution, that they were to train up a succession of learned and faithful ministers, for the supply of the Dissenting churches, and the studies, appointments, and all the other influences of the place were arranged and regulated accordingly. Dr. Ashworth, Mr. Belsham's divinity tutor, was a decided Trinitarian and Calvinist, and, to borrow Dr. Priestley's words, who was also one of his pupils, "was earnestly desirous to make the students as orthodox as possible"; to which end not only the oral instructions, but the text-book used by the class, Doddridge's Lectures, must have materially contributed. It is but justice, however, to add, that like his excellent predecessor, he was unwilling to sacrifice to party the two great and fundamental principles of Protestantism, the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of them. From lectures, and text-books, and creeds, the students were referred on every disputed point to the word of God as the only umpire in the controversy, and this too, not as a hollow and deceptive formality, but in good faith;—a circumstance which sufficiently explains the otherwise unaccountable fact, that in this orthodox school, and under orthodox teachers, were trained so many able and enlightened advocates of Unitarian Christianity.

While resident at the school, and in the diligent and successful prosecution of his studies, Mr. Belsham was the subject of deep and serious religious experiences, of which a minute and full account is given in his diary. Under the influence of the feelings and purposes thus awakened, he in his seventeenth year copied and signed the abridged form of self-dedication recommended by Dr. Doddridge in his "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," which transaction, after an appropriate meditation on the subject, he thus records:

"The time I chose for this solemn purpose was between the devotional lecture and dinner. When I first entered into my closet, which was a little before twelve o'clock, I reviewed my notes of the discourse, and prayed over them, and begged, I hope earnestly, of God to assist me in the great work which I intended to perform. After that, I walked to and fro in my closet, endeavouring to summon up my courage, and to conquer my fears; and then, after reading over the form of self-dedication, and Doddridge's exhortation to it, I prayed upon my knees, I hope with earnestness and importunity, that I might have every doubt removed, and that I might be enabled to give up myself unto God with sincerity and truth, and that I might not dare to mock him with the mere outward ceremony. After this I rose from my knees, and after meditating a few minutes, I took the form in my hand, and with fear and trembling knelt down again, and did at length begin to read it. O that I could say that I read it ardently, and that my whole soul was in every sentence; but I hope I can say, that I desired it might be so; and that I was grieved that I was no more affected. When I had finished reading it I signed my name, and rose up from the ground, and read the 116th Psalm, 2d part, of Dr. Watts's Psalms, and meditated for a few minutes, and then was called down to dinner. — Though I was not so earnest as I could wish, while I was reading over the form of self-dedication, yet I hope that I felt an inward satisfaction after the duty was over; — a joy to think that I had devoted myself to God, to be his for ever." — pp. 15, 16.

He did not offer himself for communion with the church until the following year. The conversation he then had with Dr. Ashworth gives doubtless a just, as it certainly does an affecting view of the state of his mind, at that time.

"Daventry, March 5th, 1768. — I have at length, through the riches of divine grace, notwithstanding the many, very many discouragements I have met with from the world, the corruptions of my own heart, and the inveterate malice of Satan,

been enabled to apply to Dr. Ashworth to be admitted to communion with his church. I went to him and asked him, if he had leisure to converse with me for a few minutes. I sat down, but could not say any thing, and burst into tears. The Doctor then asked me, whether I was in communion with his church. I told him I was not. He asked me, whether I desired it. I said I did. He told me he was exceedingly glad of it, and asked me, whether I had thought of it a long time. I said I had; but had been prevented from speaking of it before, because I was afraid of profaning the ordinance by an unworthy attendance upon it. He then told me that he thought people erred on the right hand and on the left with regard to this institution; some thinking it little more than any other duty, while others counted it so solemn a thing, that they thought they must needs be perfect in order to a proper attendance upon it; that he thought that none but those who had a principle of religion in them might attend upon it, but that the weakness of their graces was no objection. It was made with a design to strengthen our faith, our hope, our love, and every other grace; that we were all unworthy of it, but our unworthiness did not profane the ordinance. I said to him, that it was my desire to attend upon it with a view to the improvement of my graces. He then asked me whether I could give any account at what time I began to receive religious impressions. I told him I could not remember any time when I had not some convictions, as could hardly fail to be the case with one who had enjoyed so many advantages as I had done. He said, it was to be sure an unspeakable advantage to have a good education. He added, it had always been his custom to desire his young people, though not to impose it upon them as a condition, to give a general account of the dealings of God towards them, especially if they had had any thing remarkable in their circumstances, in order to satisfy his people of their right to be admitted, and that they might come in the most honorable manner, so as to leave no room to doubt of their uprightness, and the truth of their profession. He desired that I would write a short account of my experience, and thought I might do that with greater freedom than I could speak, and told me he would propose me to-morrow with all his heart. He knew his people would approve of it, and he would take some other opportunity of conversing with me. I then went away." — pp. 20, 21, 22.

A modest and well written account of his religious experience was prepared and handed in at the time appointed, and on the first Sunday in May following Mr. Belsham was admitted for the first time to the Lord's table. In his jour-

all he began his notice of this event thus; "Sunday, May 7, 1768, past six in the evening. It is done! the great transaction is done; and I hope too I can add, not with the assurance, not with the comfort I could wish, I am my Lord's, and he is mine." He closes the record with these words:

"I was very serious and affectionate in the review of my conduct afterwards, and do not remember that I ever enjoyed such comfort in devotion in my life. I may truly say, 'that before I was aware, my soul made me like the chariots of Amminadab.' I expected to have had a very mournful, uncomfortable season; but he, my dear Redeemer,

'He saw me faint, and o'er my head
The banners of his love he spread.'

And I had such evident views of his love to me, and of my interest in him, that I was filled with joy and peace in believing. Unto him, with the Father and the Spirit, be everlasting praises. Amen."—pp. 39, 40.

Many years afterwards Mr. Belsham comments as follows on this part of his diary.

"In these papers, which I believe to be the faithful transcript of my feelings upon the occasions on which they were written, it is curious to observe the distraction of the mind, and the difficulty which the writer experienced in ascertaining the proper share of homage which was to be paid to the Father and to the Son. It is plain, however, that if the Father received the tribute of homage and fear, the Son possessed that of confidence and love. The Holy Spirit is seldom mentioned, though no doubt was then entertained of his personality, and almost equality to the Father and the Son; for I believe at no time did I ever express a full conviction of the perfect equality of the Son and the Spirit with the Father, at least, not after I had been some months at the Academy; till which time my belief in the Assembly's Catechism was perfectly blind and passive, and without having had the least intimation that any persons, called Christians, thought differently."—p. 40.

Another important remark is suggested by the perusal of the copious extracts which his biographer has given from his early confessions, meditations, and prayers. So far as he was affected at all, even at this early period, by his peculiar and distinctive opinions as a Trinitarian and Calvinist, he was affected unfavorably. They, at times, filled him with perplexity, and shook his good resolutions, and made the whole

subject of religion and prayer unwelcome. Take the following examples.

"The Son of God! What does this imply? Who was this glorious person? Whence did he come? Blessed Jesus, who art thou? The more I consider, the more I am lost in the sublime contemplation. Art thou a glorious and exalted creature? Surely not. That awful Being must be something more than a creature, who is called the only-begotten Son of God, the heir of all things, by whom the worlds were made, who 'was in the beginning with God, and who was God.' Surely these appellations are more glorious than can be applied to any creature of whatsoever degree of excellency we may suppose him to be. What then is Jesus? Is he God; really and properly God? What, two Gods, three Gods, and yet but one! Does it not seem to imply a contradiction? What shall I say? I am lost and bewildered in the thought."—pp. 45, 46.

"I hope I have had some pretty deep convictions this month; but I fear I have too often resisted the Holy Spirit. Sometimes I have been ready to hope, yea, am almost confident, that I have the favor of God, and that he is my friend. At other times I am just ready to fall into despair,—and I cannot tell how it is that I do not. My chief difficulties are concerning foreknowledge and election. I am ready to fear that God has not elected me, and that I am irrevocably doomed to everlasting misery. These thoughts sometimes make me so (unhappy) that I can scarcely endure myself. My life is a burden to me, and I am almost ready to blaspheme the God of heaven. But Jesus knows the way I take, and I hope will pity me."—p. 11.

Mr. Belsham was now preparing for the ministry, and in pursuance of this object, in the fourth year of his studies at Daventry, he set apart the morning hours of the first Sunday in June for a most serious and solemn dedication of himself to the sacred office.

"I began" says he, "with an introductory prayer for divine assistance. I then read John xiv. With pleasure I meditated on my views, and motives, and resolutions, and earnestly prayed to God that they might be right. After this I meditated on the form of dedication, which after I had done some time I knelt down and read it solemnly through, and I hope I was attentive, and assented to every word. After this I rose up, meditated on the difficulties and discouragements I was to meet with; read John xvi., and then prayed, I hope earnestly and seriously, for the aids of divine grace for my direction, support, and success. After that I read Dr. Doddridge's Hymn on Rejoicing in

Covenant Engagements with God, and concluded with a secret commendation of myself and what I had been engaged in to the Divine blessing, begging that it might answer the intended end, viz. to make me more sensible of the awfulness and importance of the ministerial work, and to engage me to greater solicitude to discharge the duties of it." — p. 56.

The form of dedication, which his biographer has inserted as a curious document, fills more than three pages, and concludes thus: "Unto thee, O thou omniscient God, do If solemnly appeal for the sincerity and uprightness of my words and intentions, in token whereof, and as in the sight of that awful Being who cannot be deceived, and who will not be mocked, I have set my hand and seal this third day of June, 1770." At the commencement of the midsummer vacation, he completed his fourth year, after which students, according to the rules of the seminary, were permitted to make their first essay as preachers. This Mr. Belsham did, June 17th, at Newport Pagnell, where his father had formerly officiated as minister. "I preached," he says in his diary, "for Mr. Bull both parts of the day, and did it to my great comfort and edification, especially in the afternoon, and I hope through grace my discourses were not wholly unprofitable to others. A good man, with tears in his eyes, thanked me for the afternoon sermon, which he called a heavenly discourse. I thank God for this encouragement."

During the fifth and last year of his academical studies, beginning in August, 1770, he not only preached occasionally but had the entire charge of the Greek class in the institution; and in both capacities acquitted himself most acceptably, though it was a year of extreme domestic sorrow. In October he lost in quick succession his father and eldest brother. "O painful stroke!" he observes in his diary. "O mysterious conduct of Divine Providence, thus to tear down at once the two grand columns and supports of the family! But the will of God be done." His father was subject to occasional aberrations of mind, and it is supposed that, under the influence of this unhappy malady, he threw himself into the Ouse, which flowed at the bottom of his garden. He was found drowned, after he had been missing some days. This event was the more distressing and afflictive to Mr. Belsham because in his moments of privacy and seclusion he was himself subject to a similar depression of mind, which strongly excited his fears and apprehensions. Doubtless, as his bi-

ographer intimates, the more rational, scriptural, and cheering views of religion which soon began gradually to open upon him, were as medicine to a mind diseased, and contributed essentially to that almost uniform serenity and cheerfulness, for which his old age was so remarkable.

Immediately on completing his academical course at Daventry, Mr. Belsham accepted a regular appointment in the seminary as Tutor in Mathematics, Logic, and Metaphysics, an office which he filled with great success and reputation for seven years. Meanwhile his services as a preacher were frequently called for, and highly appreciated, not only by the neighbouring ministers, but in London, which he occasionally visited; and repeated applications were made to him to undertake the charge of a congregation. The following letter from the Rev. J. Fuller, a late fellow Tutor, will give some idea of the confidence generally reposed in Mr. Belsham at this time, and of the value set on his services as an instructor by the friends of the Academy.

"I hear from Mr. Tayler, what for my own sake and yours I wish may come to pass, that you are likely to have an invitation to Ayliffe Street. I should rejoice in having you so near a neighbour, and in your burdens being lightened; but, my dear friend, what will become of the Academy? Mr. Tayler is alarmed in the highest degree at the consequence of your leaving it. He thinks there would be the greatest probability of Mr. Robins' resignation, and desired that I would use all my influence with you, to induce you to give a negative to any proposal of removing which may be made at present. I told him, that I thought myself an improper person to say any thing upon this head, as whatever came from me would come with an ill grace, though I am sensible that your removal would be attended with infinitely worse consequences than mine can be. He said, he hoped you would see it clearly to be your duty to stay, at least a year or two longer; that you need not fear at any time having an agreeable congregation; that he thought you would prefer a country to a London settlement; but that if you had imbibed strong prejudices in favor of the latter, Carter Lane should at any time be at your service, and he would hold it for you as long as you pleased, or till it was convenient for you to leave Daventry. He said, he felt for you in your present situation; he knew it must be very disagreeable, but hoped you would be inclined to prefer the *utile* to the *dulce* for a little while longer. He came to me to Enfield to say all this, and a great deal more to the same effect. I promised to relate

the conversation faithfully, which I have done. I am sure, if you leave Daventry soon, I shall most heartily repent of having come to Enfield, should my removal at all influence you to such a step. I see the importance of your continuance in the strongest light. Excuse me: I do not mean to dictate, or even to give advice. I am well persuaded you will not act but in a manner which appears to you quite right. May you in this, and in every other affair of importance, have the best direction." — pp. 124, 125.

This proposal, therefore, was declined, as well as one which he had formerly received from the Call-Lane congregation at Leeds, and one which he received soon after from Walthamstow, to be colleague minister with the Rev. Hugh Farmer. But the unanimity and importunity of the congregation at Worcester, and their disposition to accommodate and oblige him in all respects, were not to be withstood. He removed to that place, and entered on the pastoral office in July, 1778.

"On Mr. Belsham's leaving Daventry," says his biographer, "Mr. Coward's Trustees made him a handsome present of plate, as an acknowledgment of his important services. The following expression of their respect and esteem is extracted from Mr. Paice's official letter to Mr. Belsham, dated Nov. 16th, 1778:

"'It is given me in charge, Sir, by my brethren of Mr. Coward's trust, to assure you of our unanimous and grateful sense of your merits, in the relation in which we had lately the happiness to be more particularly connected with you; a relation, to the dissolution of which no consideration could have reconciled us, but the probability that the exchange you have made will prove a permanent foundation of your happiness, and the extension of it.'" — p. 163.

The most interesting and important aspect under which Mr. Belsham's biography is likely to be regarded, respects the change, or rather the entire revolution, which his mind underwent on some popular doctrines. Up to this time no evidence appears that his orthodoxy had begun to be suspected either by himself or others, if we except the following short entry made in his diary, April 13, 1772.

"This evening, Messrs. Worthington, Dewhurst, Fawcet, Carpenter, Toms, and myself, entered into a solemn resolution that for the space of one year we would only use Scriptural

doxologies, each of us having some scruples about doxologies to the Spirit. I hope that God and his Spirit are my witnesses that I do it not from any disregard to the Holy Spirit, whose personality and agency upon the hearts of men, and especially of good men, I most thoroughly believe. But I would not be wise above what is written; and since there is not a single passage of Scripture in which glory is ascribed to him, and we know nothing of him, or the regards due to him, but by revelation, it is very dubious how far it is proper to ascribe them. I trust I can appeal to God that this is the only principle upon which I took up a resolution so contrary to all designs of popularity."— pp. 90, 91.

This occurred in the first year of his tutorship, the duties of which appear for some time to have withdrawn his attention from the critical study of the Bible; so that even if he had begun to emerge into clearer light, it is more than probable that he relapsed. The following brief comment was endorsed by Mr. Belsham himself, in his old age, on the discourse with which he began his public labors at Worcester.

"This sermon is a curious document, as representing the state of mind with which the writer entered upon his office at Worcester, and his full and practical belief of the truth of those doctrines which now appear the principal corruptions of the Christian religion, and from the delusion of which it is wonderful that he should ever have been released; *τυφλὸς ὢν ἄρτι βλέπω.*"—p. 160.

Scarcely had he become fixed in his present situation, before he was invited to remove to Ware, and soon afterwards to Carter Lane, in London, and again to Walthamstow. All these offers, though among the most eligible in the gift of the Dissenters, his affection and duty to his people made it necessary for him to decline. Of his tastes, and favorite studies at this time some account is given in the following letter to his friend and successor at Daventry, the Rev. Timothy Kenrick.

"You write to me, my good friend, as if I were a confirmed necessarian. I confess myself as yet an inquirer into the subject, and I acknowledge there are many difficulties, which I do not well know how to solve: those which you mention are undoubtedly the principal. But the question is, Are not the difficulties equal on the side of liberty, or even superior? We must be content to choose the side where the difficulties are least, and to palliate them as well as we can. The sensation

of remorse is undoubtedly highly useful; but it is to be remembered that only one ingredient of that sensation is removed by Necessity, and perhaps that is not of so much consequence as is generally supposed. Is it necessary, in order to our using means for the cure of a fever, that we should blame ourselves for having, by our own imprudence, brought the disease upon us? It is the pain of the disease, not that of self-condemnation, which leads us, in this case, to seek a remedy. The thought seems to me applicable to the disorders of the mind. Misery is as necessarily entailed upon moral as upon natural disorders, and for the same reason, viz. to influence us to seek after and embrace the proper methods of cure.

"I much approve of your intention to draw up a few lectures on the new discoveries upon air. They must be entertaining and instructive. I should be very glad to be one of your pupils upon that subject, which is certainly a very entertaining branch of natural philosophy. How I envy you the business of the ensuing year! Philosophy and Metaphysics are my favorite topics. I cannot yet bring my mind to relish Divinity as I would and ought." — pp. 171, 172

We may also copy, in this connexion, a short note made in his diary in 1806, when on a visit to Worcester.

"Here," he writes, "I passed three very pleasant years. I saw something of the world, and was introduced into company; but I almost forgot my studies, and became very idle, reading little or nothing but the Society's books. I had, however, some very pleasant friends, whose company and conversation entertained and benefited me." — p. 212.

There seems to have been some foundation for the severe judgment which he here pronounces on his own want of diligence, so far as a critical study of the Scriptures, and original and profound investigations in theology, were concerned. Accordingly it does not appear that, during all this time, his mind made any considerable progress in rising above the prejudices of education. But the extracts, which his biographer has given us from his private journal, evince that he was not insensible to the other ministerial duties, and eye and ear witnesses are still living to testify how faithfully and successfully they were performed. A lady, who sat under his preaching, observes:

"When Mr. Belsham came to Worcester, the Dissenters had very little intercourse with their neighbours of the Estab-

lishment, and the meeting-house was scarcely entered by any of them; but a great change in this respect shortly took place. I think it was during the first winter of his residence at Worcester, that Mr. Belsham began an evening lecture, which was soon very well attended, and continued to be so all the time that he remained at Worcester. The congregation was usually a very numerous and miscellaneous one, and it became quite fashionable to attend it. In the summer it was always discontinued, the greater part of the audience prefering some other occupation of their time. It has been reported that some of the superior clergy attended this lecture, but this I do not remember.

"At the time Mr. Belsham came to Worcester, there was a circulating Book Society which was dropping fast into decay, but by his exertions was revived and re-organized. He was always president at its meetings, and the principal agent in all its transactions. I am not aware that there was another in the town, and as it had a well-chosen supply of books, it soon became an object of desire and difficulty to become a member of it. The number of subscribers was limited to thirty, and though the majority were Dissenters, Churchmen were not refused. Two or three liberal clergymen became members, and as they met once a month, it brought the parties to a more intimate knowledge of each other, and Mr. Belsham was on friendly terms with some of them. His gentlemanly manners and great attainments did a great deal to lessen the dislike entertained by the generality of the church people to the Dissenters.

"Though very young at the time, I am certain of the fact, that whilst at Worcester, Mr. Belsham was generally esteemed for his pious and faithful discharge of the pastoral duties, by many whose religious character was deservedly respected, and who had too much of the deep seriousness of the old Nonconformists to tolerate any lukewarmness in their minister. Though I cannot recall the particular subjects of discourse, I have a pleasing impression upon my mind of the useful and interesting conversations I have heard him hold with my grandmother and my aunt, and could not but hear with pleasure, that the earliest objects of my reverence and love were held by Mr. Belsham in such high estimation that a common friend had learned to honor them from the terms in which Mr. Belsham, long afterwards, was accustomed to speak of them. It is from my own knowledge, also, I can assert, that Mr. Belsham was the pastor and the friend of the poor in his congregation, visiting them very frequently, entering into their

affairs, and attending both to their bodily and their mental wants. It seems probable that if he had continued there, a more liberal feeling would have characterized the Dissenters of Worcester than has done since he left it.

"When Mr. Belsham was invited to Daventry, I well remember how much the idea of his removal was deplored by the congregation, and also by himself. When he was convinced it would be right for him to undertake the care of the Academy, he endeavoured to induce the Trustees to remove the institution to Worcester, and took a great deal of pains to find a proper house for the purpose, and once thought that he had succeeded; but the Trustees considered it undesirable to have it near the contagion of a fashionable and collegiate city, and would not hear of it." — pp. 181 - 184.

Mr. Robins succeeded Dr. Ashworth as Principal at Daventry in 1775, and held the place until 1781, when, in consequence of indisposition and subsequent loss of voice, he was obliged to resign. All eyes were immediately turned on Mr. Belsham as his successor; and by the unanimous voice of Mr. Coward's Trustees, and his friends generally, he was prevailed upon to assume the charge, though apparently almost as much against his own inclinations, as against the wishes and entreaties of his congregation. At Daventry he found, as he expected, many things to perplex and trouble him, particularly in the bad location of the seminary, in the laxity of discipline into which it had fallen of late, and in the impossibility of bringing over the Trustees to his views of policy. Under these discouraging circumstances he was repeatedly tempted to relinquish the place, in favor of other and much more agreeable offers; but the strong representations made to him of the evils and inconvenience such a step would occasion, were sufficient for some time, to induce him to wave all personal considerations, and struggle on. We have the best possible evidence of his ability and fidelity as a Superintendent in the fact, that the Institution was continually rising under his administration, and never stood so high either in point of reputation or numbers as at the moment when, in 1789, he signified to its patrons his purpose to resign.

It was the careful and thorough Scriptural investigations into which Mr. Belsham was led in the discharge of his duty as Divinity Tutor at Daventry, that brought about the change in his religious sentiments. Though generally ac-

counted Orthodox on commencing these investigations, it is proper to observe that he was not then, and that he never had been exclusive: as appears from his first publication, a discourse preached before an association of ministers in Northamptonshire as early as 1775, with a view to expose and rebuke a spirit of intolerance and persecuting zeal, which had begun to show itself among the Dissenters in that quarter. It was his opposition to bigotry, rather than to Trinitarianism and Calvinism as held and explained by Watts and Doddridge, which probably had the effect to awaken against him the suspicions referred to in a letter from Job Orton.

"Pray can you tell me," says his intimate and venerable correspondent, "what an honest friend of mine, a divine, meant, by intimating to me in a letter lately, that he was not quite pleased with the choice of Mr. Belsham, for he thought that all our Academies but Carmarthen would be in the hands of persons who were far gone from evangelical principles? I wrote to him an answer, in which I rebuked him sharply for his narrowness, and told him with great confidence, that he was entirely mistaken as to you, and that you were as evangelical as himself, except that you did not use some phrases that he might do, and were as far from Dr. Priestley's and Dr. Enfield's sentiments as himself. You see what you must expect from narrow spirits, and will arm yourself against being any way influenced by their insinuations." — pp. 216, 217.

"The truth is," says he in the Preface to his Calm Inquiry,* "that at the time when this Inquiry was begun [1781] the author was himself a firm believer in the preëxistence of Christ; and was fully persuaded that the spirit which animated the body of Christ was the eternal Logos asserted by Dr. Clarke; nor had he then altogether renounced the plausible hypothesis of Dr. T. Burnet and Dr. Doddridge, that the Son is God by the indwelling deity of the Father." Further on he adds: † "Nor did he at that time entertain a doubt, that in the judgment of every serious and impartial inquirer, the result would be a clear discernment of what he then thought the superficial texture of the Unitarian arguments, and a confirmed conviction of the preëxistence and superior nature and dignity, if not the proper Deity, of Jesus Christ." From the following letter to the Rev. S. Palmer, dated De-

* Second Edition, p. v. † p. vii.

cember 24, 1783, it would seem that in the course of two years he had made some, though not much progress.

"We are much obliged by your collection of prayers. I have read some of them, and think they are well calculated for the purpose intended. I shall put them into the library, close to Dr. Priestley's Unitarian Liturgy, that one may serve as an antidote for the other. *Apropos*, have you seen the Doctor's answer to Horsley? 'It is masterly; and though I do not think he proves the primitive church Socinian, it appears undoubtedly Unitarian. Indeed, brother Palmer, your Indwelling scheme will not hold. It is a mere modern invention, that solves no difficulty; and, in my humble opinion, amounts to nothing at all. True and undefiled orthodoxy is this: that the Father is the one, only, self-existent God; that the Son is an eternal, necessary emanation from him, and in all respects of the same nature with him, and equal to him; and, lastly, that the Holy Spirit necessarily proceeded both from the Father and the Son, distinct from both and equal to hem. No man, who does not firmly and indubitably believe all these things, has any right to the name of Orthodox, or any title to Athanasian salvation. As to the Indwelling scheme, I own it appears to me, the more I consider it, to be nothing, or the grossest absurdity. If it means nothing more than a consent of purpose, will, and power, and that the works of the Son are performed by the concurrent operation of the Father, every Socinian believes as much. This scheme, therefore, is nothing. If it means, that the Father, a conscious, intelligent agent, is so united to the Son, another conscious, intelligent agent, as to produce a third compound being, distinct from both the Father and the Son, this I say is as incomprehensible as any thing in the Athanasian creed, and is an hypothesis neither founded on scripture nor supported by the Fathers. The more I consider the subject, the more clearly does it appear to me, that Dr. Clarke's hypothesis approaches nearest to the standard of truth, and the opinion of the earliest Fathers. I have studied Socinianism much of late, and have endeavoured to divest myself as much as possible of all prejudice; but though I acknowledge it has a great deal more to say for itself than I once thought it had, yet upon the most impartial and deliberate examination, it appears to me to deviate very far from the true doctrine of Scripture. While the first chapter of John and the first chapter of Colossians make a part of the Scriptures, so long will the preëxistence of Christ, in my apprehension, make a glorious part of the doctrine of the New Testament.

"I have lately been reading lectures on the doctrine of the Atonement. This doctrine has, you know, been warmly attacked in Dr. Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity. I was determined, therefore, that my class and I should examine it thoroughly for ourselves. I made them all search the New Testament through, and write down every text in which the death of Christ is mentioned or alluded to. These texts, which are in number about two hundred and forty, we have digested under various heads, something similar to Dr. Clarke's Account of the Scripture Trinity, and by this means I have attained greater satisfaction upon that important subject than ever I did before. I observed, also, that my young people were much pleased with this method of studying the subject, which teaches them to inquire and search into the Scriptures for themselves; and I believe I shall adopt it with regard to some other points of the greatest importance in divinity. One circumstance I was greatly struck with in this collection and comparison of the texts upon the subject of the death of Christ; i. e. how very few passages of Scripture there are which lead us to consider the death of the Son of God under the notion of an attestation to the truth, and as an example of suffering virtue, in comparison with those which represent it as a ransom, or propitiation, and a sin-offering. And so long as the Epistle to the Romans and that to the Hebrews stand as a part of my Bible, so long I must take the liberty to differ from Dr. Priestley upon this subject."—pp. 244–247.

In another letter to the same gentleman of a few months' later date he observes:

"Predestination is a doctrine upon which I look with a favorable eye; and in short, I really deserve more credit for my orthodoxy than people are willing to allow. My case is certainly a very hard one. I really approach nearer to orthodoxy than any one of my predecessors, without excepting Dr. Doddridge himself; and yet, such is my misfortune, that, as the Reviewers express it, 'I can never come in for a share of the orthodox plum cake.' However, I must make myself as contented as I can without it. If I know my own heart, there is nothing I more ardently pant after than truth; and whatever appears to be important truth, I hope I never would be afraid or ashamed to avow, whatever the consequences might be."—pp. 248, 249.

The change in Mr. Belsham's opinions went on very gradually, as we may gather from the following communi-

cation made in December, 1785, to one of Mr. Coward's Trustees.

"Brought up as I was 'in the strictest sect of our religion,' having no idea of any other sentiments before I came to the Academy than those which are taught in the Assembly's Catechism, I was always taught, both by my parents and tutors, to keep my mind open to conviction, and to be willing to embrace and profess truth, wherever I found it, at all hazards. I believe few persons have inquired with a more anxious concern than myself into the Trinitarian controversy; and though upon the most diligent and impartial investigation of the subject, I think that I see the most satisfactory evidence of the preëxistence of the Son of God, and even of his eternity, and that he was the maker of the world, and the medium of all the divine dispensations; yet I think I see with equal clearness that he derived his existence and all his powers from the Father, that he is entirely dependent upon him and subject to him, and that he is in all respects infinitely inferior to the one only living and self-existent Jehovah. And I cannot but consider the unity of God to be a doctrine of such high importance, that it ought, upon all proper occasions, to be asserted in the most explicit manner, 'whether men will hear or whether they will forbear.'

"You will easily judge, my dear Sir, how much my mind is perplexed with these difficulties; sometimes thinking it to be my duty to remove, at other times seeing the matter in a very different light. It is no pleasant, it is no easy thing, to resign sentiments, connexions, and friends whom long habit has endeared; but what can be done, if they cannot be retained consistently with a clear conscience? I have no spiritual knight-errantry in my constitution. I have no ambition to be ranked in the number of the Lindseys or the Disneys of the age; and am the farthest in the world from being inclined to 'meddle with those who are given to change.'"—pp. 301, 302.

The high Arianism, at which Mr. Belsham had now arrived, does not appear to have been a sufficient ground, in the view of Mr. Coward's Trustees, for dissolving the connexion which subsisted between him and them; and he therefore, in the consciousness that he had concealed nothing from them, was satisfied to continue in the situation which he then held. As regards the Trinitarian controversy his method of instruction from the beginning had been, to collect, and arrange under different heads, all the texts in the New Testament which in any way related to the person of Christ;

most certainly not omitting any which affirmed or seemed to affirm his preëxistence and divinity. Under each text he introduced the most approved Trinitarian, Arian, and Socinian interpretations, very rarely adding any comments of his own, choosing rather, as he says, to leave the remarks of the different expositors to make their own impression upon the minds of his pupils. The immediate and final result, so widely different from what he wished and expected, we give in his own words.

"The first consequence of this mode of conducting the lectures was to himself very unexpected, and not a little mortifying. Many of his pupils, and among those some of the best talents, the closest application, and the most serious dispositions, who had also been educated in all the habits and prepossessions of Trinitarian doctrine, to his great surprise became Unitarians." * "The tutor's habits of thinking were more firmly riveted; and though from the beginning of the inquiry he was a little surprised at discovering so few direct, and, as he thought, unequivocal, assertions of his favorite doctrine, and though in the process of his labors he found himself obliged to abandon one text because it was spurious, another because it admitted of a different and more probable interpretation, and so on, and was thus driven by degrees out of his strong-holds; yet such was the ascendency which the associations of education had obtained over his mind, that he does not believe it would have been in the power of argument to have subdued it, had not the nature of his office, which made it necessary for him to repeat the lectures to successive classes, and which thereby compelled his attention again and again to the subject, eventually, and almost imperceptibly, overruled his original prepossessions, and brought him over to the faith to which he had certainly no previous partiality, to the profession of which he had no interest to induce him, and which he had fondly flattered himself that he should without much difficulty have overthrown. Those who have never changed their opinions, who are not much in the habits of inquiry, or who have not watched the vacillations of the mind when it is deliberating upon subjects of high importance, when it is anxious to form a correct judgment, when much depends upon the decision, and when it once begins to suspect as erroneous what it has long regarded as sacred and essential truth, may wonder that the teacher should be so long in mak-

* Calm Inquiry. Preface, p. vii.

ing up his mind, and that he should not be able to mark the day and the hour of his conversion. The fact is, that he was not himself aware of it till upon the repetition of a sermon which he had preached a few years before, and in which the preëxistence of Christ, and its concomitant doctrines, were assumed as facts, he found himself so embarrased from beginning to end, by his skeptical doubts, that he determined from that time to desist from teaching what he now first discovered that he no longer believed. This was in the autumn of 1788." *

We are less disposed than most persons to rely on the evidence from such conversions, knowing how much changes of opinion, even in the case of wise and good men, depend on other influences besides the force of truth. History, however, presents us with few examples of the renunciation of one theological system and the adoption of another, entitled to so respectful a notice, as that here recorded. "Could we imagine for a moment," observes a writer in the Monthly Repository, † "the formal carrying on of inquiry by delegation, and the ascertaining of religious truth by substitute, here was a man to whom unlearned Christians might have come with confidence, saying, Examine and decide this controversy for us." Evidently confided in by his orthodox friends as a young man of the highest promise for abilities, learning, sound judgment, and piety, in the full maturity of his mind and character, and with all the means and facilities of thorough and dispassionate investigation, he felt it to be his duty to reëxamine the Scriptural evidence in favor of the Trinity, and its kindred doctrines. This inquiry, continued through seven of the best years of his life, resulted at last in the deep, unwavering, enduring conviction, that the doctrines in question were not only not supported, but expressly contradicted and excluded, by the word of God; a conviction which his regard for truth constrained him to avow, and act up to, though at the sacrifice of his ease, prejudices, popularity, and every worldly interest. For most of these reasons it is certain, that Mr. Belsham's conversion to Unitarianism is much more clearly attributable to the force of truth, than that of Thomas Scott to Orthodoxy. The latter by his own showing was educated in the belief of the Trinity, and had also taken orders as a Trinitarian and

* Memoirs of Theophilus Lindsey, pp. 289, 290.
† New Series, Vol. IV. p. 77.

would have been one, except that he was not a Christian, nor an honest man. In this state of things he awoke to a sense of his unbelief and hypocrisy; but still the only practical question that can properly be said to have come before his mind for decision was this, Whether he should have no religion, or be a Trinitarian. Who can wonder, this being the alternative, that he chose as he did, especially when it is considered that his choice was one which tallied so exactly with his early religious associations, his present professions, and his prospects of reputation and worldly honor and success. Mr. Scott's conversion may be adduced as evidence, of some sort, in the question between Orthodoxy and infidelity, but not in the question between Orthodoxy and Unitarianism; for this plain reason, that until he became Orthodox, he was really, and in his heart, a skeptic or infidel, and had never been a Unitarian Christian, and knew no more what it was to be one, than David Hume. On the contrary Mr. Belsham had been an Orthodox Christian, remarkably serious and devout, so that afterwards, on embracing Unitarianism, he knew from personal experience the strength and weakness of both systems, and was a competent witness to decide their comparative merits.

Extracts from Mr. Belsham's diary show that the change in his religious sentiments was immediately favorable to his moral and spiritual progress. Writing in it a little before the time last mentioned he observes:

"I have, in one or two instances, not been sufficiently upon my guard; but I sometimes flatter myself that my temper and my heart are improving, and that truth, *that* truth which I seek after with so much earnestness, and for which I dig as for hidden treasure, has a tendency to soften my temper and purify my heart, and to raise me to a spiritual, divine, and heavenly life. If it be so I rejoice; but with trembling do I rejoice, while I am conscious of my manifold infirmities, and know not but some spark may at once kindle those dispositions into a blaze, which have heretofore destroyed my peace, and which perhaps may again do it. God forbid, that I should ever fall a sacrifice to them again!" —p. 338.

From the time of his coming to Daventry to take charge of the Academy, Mr. Belsham, like his predecessors, had been the regular minister of an Orthodox Dissenting congregation in that place. Of his success and prospects in both capacities he thus speaks in a letter to a friend.

"It is remarkable that the affairs both of the Congregation and the Academy are at this time peculiarly promising. Two or three new families of Dissenters are come to live in the town, the Sunday-school is thriving, the young people have formed themselves into a society, and a considerable number of them are coming to the Lord's table, and I do not know that we have any complaint or uneasiness. The members of my family are universally orderly, diligent, and well-behaved; and though a considerable number are to leave the house this vacation, I have already the prospect of twelve or fourteen new students, which is a greater number than I have known of, at this time of year, since I kept the Academy. It is a little mortifying to give up every thing at a time when prospects are so very promising." *

Duty, however, would not permit him any longer to hesitate. Early in 1789 he forwarded his resignation to Mr. Coward's Trustees, which was accepted, but not without many expressions of confidence and respect on their part. At the end of the term in his valedictory address to the Students, he thus explains and justifies the step he had taken:

"The true cause of my resignation is, that by becoming a Unitarian I incapacitated myself from answering the end for which the institution is established, and for which I was chosen to preside in it.

"There are two ends for which this institution is founded, — the promotion of truth and learning, and the supplying of Dissenting congregations with acceptable ministers. Truth obliges me to observe, that these two ends are not always compatible with each other, and when they interfere, truth and learning must fall a sacrifice. This is no fault either of the Trustees, or of the Tutors. It is the spirit of the Testator's will, and the Trustees consider themselves as bound to act up to it.

"It has further been asked, Why was my resignation accepted, when the will of Mr. Coward is expressed with so much latitude, that it was in the power of the Trustees to have continued me in office?

"But the same reason which induced me to resign, induced them to accept my resignation. The end of the institution would be defeated, and the spirit of the will would be totally contradicted, by placing a Unitarian Divinity Tutor at the head of Mr. Coward's Academy. I have reason to believe that

* Monthly Repository, New Series, Vol. IV. p. 80.

it was mentioned in the Trust, that I should be solicited to resume my office, but the motion was overruled under the idea that it would be treating me with greater friendship and respect to accept, without hesitation, a resignation so explicit, and founded upon such just principles; and it would be injustice to Mr. Coward's Trustees not to embrace this opportunity of declaring, that, through the whole of this interesting and momentous business, they have conducted themselves with delicacy, honor, and friendship.

"I cannot better express their own views on the subject than in the following extract from a private letter of a member of the Trust: 'Had I been at your side,' saith my friend, 'when you wrote your resignation, in the situation of a friend and not of a Trustee, I would have said to you, My good friend, you are right; you act nobly: God and the whole world approve your conduct and will applaud it, and there will be no day of your life when you will not be proud of having acted thus. On the other hand, had I, in the same situation, received your resignation from one of Mr. Coward's Trustees, and been asked how I thought they ought to act, as honest men and faithful trustees, I would have replied in similar language, — You should by all means accept the resignation. Accept it with every possible expression of esteem and affection to your most able and worthy Tutor. His ease and honor forbid you tampering with him in such a case. The duties of your Trust, in compliance with the general intention of the person who appointed the Trust, and to the general congregations of Dissenters, recommend your ready acceptance of a resignation made in so explicit a form, and upon such good ground. You are not to act as individuals executing your own will, and disposing of your own property, but as Trustees for the purposes of Mr. Coward's will; as Trustees, therefore, bound to execute that will to the best of your power. Rigid interpretations are the acts of weak minds, but a regard to general intention marks the mind that wishes to act right.'" — pp. 392–394.

Mr. Belsham from this period was regarded as a leading member of the body of English Unitarians, already considerable for numbers and influence, and rapidly increasing. *

* We may observe, in a note, that we were hardly prepared for the following statements by Mr. Belsham's biographer respecting the progress already made by Unitarianism among the English Dissenters. "It is also to be considered, that what are regarded by Unitarians as the genuine doctrines of Christ and his Apostles were beginning to

After sending in his resignation and before the commencement of the vacation when it was to take effect, proposals were made to him by Dr. Price to become Resident and Theological Tutor in the New College at Hackney. This institution had been founded a few years before by a general subscription among the Liberal Dissenters throughout England, but the funds had been most injudiciously invested, and enormous debts had been contracted, all which soon ended, as its friends had already begun to fear it must, in the total failure and dissolution of the establishment. Other causes, also, besides pecuniary embarrassments, contributed to hasten the catastrophe; particularly the mania of French principles in politics and religion, by which the minds of the pupils were but too much affected, and the reaction occasioned in public sentiment, by the excesses to which these principles were now leading at home and abroad. Under these circumstances, but not until after considerable hesitation, Mr. Belsham undertook the superintendence of the New College, and his friends have the satisfaction of knowing, that he did all that possibly could be done, in his difficult and responsible situation, to retrieve its desperate fortunes.

His presidency over this Institution lasted about seven years, and writing towards the close of it, Februrary 19, 1796, he says:

"No formal resolution has yet passed concerning the in-

be adopted by the rising generation of ministers in those institutions where freedom of inquiry and fearless investigation were permitted and encouraged. The writer well remembers, as early as the year 1783, when he first entered as a student at Carmarthen, the senior class, and indeed almost all the students who had paid any attention to the subject, were avowedly Unitarian, in the strictest sense of the term; and when, in the succeeding year, he removed to Hoxton, he found the same sentiments generally prevailing in that institution. The class which completed their course at the conclusion of the session, Midsummer, 1785, were all declared Unitarians, excepting one; and the other classes, with few exceptions, were generally disposed to receive, and ultimately embraced and avowed, the same sentiments; and at the time of his leaving Daventry, where the writer finished his academical course, in the year 1789, these were the opinions of the majority of his fellow-students, who were then entering upon the Christian ministry, yet were they invited by some of the leading Dissenting congregations to the pastorship; a decided proof how much these churches were prepared to receive the advocates of Unitarian Christianity." — pp. 421, 422.

stitution, but it is taken for granted that it will be suspended or dissolved at Midsummer. I, for one, am determined to relinquish my connexion with it; and if I do, I shall probably be no further concerned in the business of education. If my plan had been pursued (meaning from the commencement), the institution could never have been reduced to the state in which it is. A constant, vigilant superintendence of the tutors, such as I proposed, would have effectually prevented those irregularities which, in the vicinity of London, could not be checked by any other means. When a number of young men live together in the same house, there will always be some irregular and even immoral. But this is not our only ground of complaint, — there is an unaccountable tendency in the young men, in this part of the world, to infidelity, and the studious and virtuous part of our family have very generally given up Christianity. This is an evil to which no remedy can be applied. Actions may be restrained, but thoughts must be left free." — pp. 461, 462.

Another letter, which Mr. Belsham wrote about the same time, having respect to the last mentioned topic, must not be omitted.

"I much lament that ——— and ——— have deserted their colors; but I hope they have not deserted Christianity. Many of their best friends doubt whether they will find their account even in a temporal view, in quitting the ministry for a secular employment. In these instances I think we see the consequences of mixing too much with the world. Both these gentlemen seem to me of late to have made politics their principal concern, and proportionably to have lost sight of the great value of religious principles. I am persuaded that if we mean to do much to promote the cause of truth and virtue, we must, like our great master, be *not* of the world. I am very sorry for ———'s apostasy from Christianity, but I cannot say I am greatly surprised at it. I acknowledge that the state of things among the professors of rational Christianity at this crisis is such, that if I did not firmly believe the Christian religion to be the cause of God, I should have very little hope of its success. But great is the truth, and it will prevail; and I am persuaded, that if the Divine Being sees fit to make no use of those instruments which to our limited understanding appear most eminently qualified for the work, deliverance will arise from some other quarter, and I can cheerfully trust the Governor of the world to conduct his own cause in his own way.

"The reports which you mention as circulated concerning myself amuse, but do not at all hurt my mind. I should have thought that I had exhibited proofs sufficiently obvious and satisfactory of my attachment to truth, and it is not very probable, either that I should profess Christianity if I did not believe it, or that I should so lately have resumed the public exercise of the ministry, if I did not in my judgment approve of it. But ever since I made a public profession of Unitarian principles I have considered myself as fair game for the shafts of ignorance and bigotry, so that, laying my account for all manner of calumnies, I am neither surprised nor concerned when they occur. *Ταράσσει ἡμᾶς οὐ τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δόγματα.* In the College I read lectures in defence of the Christian religion, in public I preach in its defence, and take more pains than most of my brethren in explaining the Christian Scriptures; I also lecture the young people of my congregation in defence of the Christian religion, and have been taking a great deal of trouble in answering Mr. Paine's 'Age of Reason.' If after this, people will not believe that I am a Christian, nothing that I can say or do will convince them of it." — pp. 459 – 461.

The intelligent reader will not require to be informed, that it was a political and not a theological reason, on account of which the Liberal Dissenters were more exposed than others to the contagion of French principles. Unhappily the office of withstanding this evil influence was one in which Mr. Belsham, neither by the original constitution of his mind, nor by the changes and trials it had undergone, was fitted to excel. Nature as well as circumstances had made him to be a controversialist, able and practised in the means of exposing error, but much less so in the means of illustrating and confirming primal and essential truths. It was not for a man, who had himself been bred up in the belief of so many leading doctrines, which a serious and devout study of the Scriptures had since convinced him were mere human inventions and impositions, to speak of the tenets he still held with that air and tone of confidence and authority often so much more effectual than argument to dispel doubt, especially in the young and inexperienced. Besides, it is not to be denied that Mr. Belsham made the investigation of the evidences of Christianity too exclusively an intellectual act, requiring nothing but mere honesty of purpose. As a matter of philosophy and of fact, he never

appears to have been aware, never at least to the full extent of the principle, how much the developement of the devout affections, and of the moral nature generally, is concerned in spiritual discernment and a living faith.

When Mr. Belsham left Daventry for the New College, he expected, it would seem, soon to obtain the appointment of stated morning or afternoon preacher to some congregation either in Hackney or London. In this hope, to his no small uneasiness and mortification, he was disappointed, until invited to fill the vacancy in the Gravel-Pit Meeting, occasioned by the removal of Dr. Priestley to this country, in 1794. The event is noticed as follows in his private journal.

"Lord's-day evening, March 30. — How limited is human foresight! I thought myself altogether cut off from public service, and on a sudden I find myself called to one of the most conspicuous situations among the Protestant Dissenters. God knows how little I sought it, or expected, or desired it; but the circumstances under which it was offered to me were such as made it impossible to decline. Dr. Priestley resigned his charge the second Lord's-day in this month. Mr. Rickards nominated, and Mr. Vaughan seconded me, as successor to the Doctor. On the 23d, at a large meeting of the subscribers, I was unanimously elected, and to-day I sent my answer of acceptance to a letter delivered to me on Friday. My answer was read to the subscribers after the Doctor had preached his farewell discourse to a congregation the most crowded that I ever recollect to have seen upon any occasion." — pp. 455, 456.

For more than two years, and until the dissolution of the College, Mr. Belsham discharged the double duty of Theological Tutor, and morning preacher to the congregation above mentioned.

"I do not pretend," says he, writing in his diary, January 4, 1795, "that in the past year I have employed every hour in the best manner; but it would be affectation not to admit, that in general my time has been busily, and I trust not unusefully, employed, especially since I have undertaken the charge of the congregation. I have in general made a sermon, drawn up a lecture, and, of late, an exposition, every week, together with occasional forms of prayer, and offices for Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and all this in addition to my usual lectures, some of which have occupied a great deal of

my time, particularly Eusebius, Socrates, Ecclesiastical history, and now Josephus." —pp. 469, 470.

He adds:

"I do not at present foresee any material change which is likely to take place, unless any public convulsion should give an unexpected turn to affairs. Dr. Priestley solicits me to go to America, and I sometimes wish myself there; but I see no proper call to leave a situation of some usefulness, and to go to bury myself in the American wildernesses. At present it appears plainly to be my duty to remain at my post, and to wait the issue of the great changes which will ere long take place." —pp. 470, 471.

At the breaking up of the College in July, 1796, he removed to Grove Place, in the village, which he rented and occupied for more than sixteen years. He was now able to give his attention more undividedly to the duties of the ministry, though still under the necessity of eking out his narrow stipend by taking a few pupils into his family. In 1802, on the resignation of the Rev. John Kentish as afternoon preacher at the Gravel-Pit Meeting, Mr. Belsham was chosen with great unanimity, to succeed him, and thenceforward filled the office of sole pastor. The following extracts from his diary show that the natural bias of his mind, his academical habits, and the state of the times often tempted him, while at Hackney, to sink the preacher in the lecturer and polemic.

"I preach speculatively more than any person in my system of thinking. It is my desire to instruct, to establish, and to infuse valuable practical principles. Some are offended: and of these, some are my oldest friends, who were attached to me, but now look shy upon me; and, what is worse, some are disturbed in their habits of thinking, and either talk inconsistently, or become unbelievers. And these are not the youngest of my hearers. This often leads me to consider, whether my mode of instruction is just and proper; and upon the whole I think it right to proceed as I have done. For, surely, I am not to decline entering a protest against established corruptions, because some confound those corruptions with Christianity itself. Besides, though the seed sometimes falls upon stony ground, or among thorns, or where there is little depth of earth, yet it sometimes falls on good ground, and produces fruit. My hearers are certainly more numerous in consequence

of the freedom of my language. Few congregations attend better, while, at the same time, I have no pretence to eloquence. And some of my hearers express their gratitude for my discourses, and treat me with affection and respect. And I rejoice to see that many are eminent for piety and virtue, as well as for just sentiments in religion." — pp. 495, 496.

Two years afterwards he writes:

"My congregation has been in a flourishing state. Though some families drop off and leave us, others are succeeding them. I have finished the course of sermons on the Divine Attributes; and I have, at the request of many of my friends, begun to deliver a course of lectures on the Person of Christ, on Sunday mornings, after the service in the meeting. It is well attended, and I hope may do good. At least I trust that it is well meant, and as such will be accepted." — p. 513.

"The state of my congregation astonishes me much. I never pretended to eloquence, nor affected, or in the least degree expected, popularity. I was solicitous to perform my duty, and to publish plainly the truths, the knowledge of which I had acquired, by the blessing of God upon persevering exertion. God has raised me to distinction, and to a considerable degree of affluence, and even of popularity. I trust I shall be encouraged by it to proceed in the same path; and I earnestly pray that my motives may remain perfectly pure; and if ever I deviate from the strict line of duty for the sake of popular applause or secular advantage, I pray God that I may be disappointed and forsaken." — p. 514.

It was during Mr. Belsham's connexion with the Gravel-Pit Meeting that he found leisure to prepare and publish the two earliest of his larger works, his "Review of Wilberforce," and the "Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind, and of Moral Philosophy." Of the former, the writer in the Repository before referred to, says: "There is great power in this work, more, we think, than in any other of Mr. Belsham's productions;" and the criticism, perhaps, is just. As, however, we do not happen to concur in many of the philosophical principles assumed in these Letters, nor in many of the remarks, particularly on the obligations of the Lord's Day, on divine agency, and on the efficacy of prayer, we deny that they can be regarded as presenting either a complete, or fair "statement of Unitarian Christianity." One is almost tempted to believe, that parts of this book were deliberately written under an impression, that to convert

men, the best way is to begin by shocking them. Accordingly we are not surprised to find, that it gave great offence not only to the Orthodox universally, but to many serious and enlightened Unitarians, and led to many natural but most injurious misconceptions and estrangements. We are constrained to believe that this, and some other of Mr. Belsham's publications, and the attempt, in which he coöperated with Priestley and Lindsey, to restrict the term Unitarian to believers in Christ's proper humanity, did not a little, along with the political revulsions of that period, to intimidate and repel many who were beginning to think for themselves, and essentially to retard the progress of liberal opinions in England. The other of Mr. Belsham's works above mentioned, will hardly be recommended, at this day, as a manual of intellectual and moral philosophy, for which it appears to have been intended. It is, however, of some value as presenting a clear, succinct, and unflinching statement of the doctrines of philosophical necessity and materialism in all their connexions and applications. In metaphysical investigations Mr. Belsham's mind wanted comprehension and depth, the power to judge of a system not only in its parts, but as a whole; and hence he was generally more carried away by subtile than by profound reasonings.

We have been disappointed in not finding more interesting notices of contemporaries and intimate friends in the extracts from Mr. Belsham's diary. The following are among the most striking, and, as belonging to this period, may be inserted here.

"Mr. Kenrick and I made a visit to Mr. Wakefield at Dorchester. We found him pale and emaciated, and complaining very much of the languor of confinement, which made him incapable of steady application; but he was in very good spirits, and his mind is unbroken. He says there is a Greek proverb, that God's mill grinds slow, but it grinds small, and he has no doubt that Mr. Pitt and his friends will in due time be ground to powder.

"When I was at Exeter, I also had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Evanson, so celebrated in the theological world for his attack upon three of the Evangelists, and upon the sabbatical observation of the Lord's-day. He is settled within a short distance of Exeter, and is a very learned, a very pleasant, and a very intelligent man. I knew him twenty years ago, when he was curate of Tewkesbury, but should not have recollected

him, nor he me. He has lately begun to preach again, and has officiated for Mr. Jervis, of Lympson, where he resides." — p. 494.

Writing again, April 8, 1804, he observes:

"I have this day been performing a most painful task. I have been preaching a funeral sermon for Dr. Priestley. He died on Monday, February 6th, having, for a fortnight or three weeks before that time, gradually grown weaker and weaker. He expired at last without a sigh or a groan. The intelligence came not from his family, but from Mr. Bakewell, of New York. Of the certainty of the event there can be no doubt, though some think that I have been hasty in preaching a funeral sermon so early. My reason was, that I was anxious to throw the oppressive load off my mind, and I did not wish to attract a crowd by advertising a funeral sermon, in which I knew that I could not give satisfaction, either to myself or others.

"Mr. Lindsey bore the intelligence with great fortitude. Indeed, he considers himself as so near his end, that the Doctor dying first is probably a satisfaction to him rather than otherwise, as he will hope to meet him the sooner. His pulse, however, was affected, which shows that his nerves were shocked; but though it alarmed Mrs. Lindsey, who is herself much affected with the late event, it produced no ill consequences.

"When I resigned my situation at Daventry, I secretly wished, but little expected, to obtain the friendship of these two excellent men, Mr. Lindsey and Dr. Priestley. It pleased God to grant my request. Both these eminent servants of God, and confessors of truth, took me to their hands and their hearts, and I have been ever since upon the most intimate terms with them. Dr. Priestley, indeed, has been long in a manner dead to us, for correspondence is not to be compared with intimate conversation.

"I have now for fifteen years enjoyed the friendship of these venerable men; and Dr. Priestley is at length, unexpectedly to his friend Mr. Lindsey, ten years older than himself, dismissed from his post of service. Mr. Lindsey will soon follow. God grant that I may now so imitate their virtues, and follow their bright example, that I may, in a future state of being, be united with them in the bands of everlasting friendship!" — pp. 531, 532.

In the spring of 1805 he accepted a pressing invitation from the Trustees of Essex-Street Chapel, to become the

minister of that society. The particulars of this removal, one of the most important and critical events of his life, are thus recorded.

"On Sunday, May 5, I preached my farewell sermon at Hackney. This I printed and gave to the congregation, but it was not published. From this time I commenced morning preacher at Essex Street. For the months of August and September the chapel was shut up to be repaired. The first Sunday in October it was opened again with the new edition of Mr. Lindsey's Liturgy, at the express desire of the Duke of Grafton and others, and with the consent of the trustees. I then commenced preaching morning and afternoon. The first Sunday in November I administered the Lord's Supper for the first time. Most persons will, of course, believe, that I have been influenced by ambition and self-interest. I readily excuse them, because my conduct must have that appearance. With respect to self-interest, I gain little or nothing; as to ambition, I desired nothing better than to live among my Hackney friends and to be connected with them." — p. 561.

Still we may presume, from what we know of Mr. Belsham's predilections and his position in society, that it must have afforded him, if not a proud, at least a conscious satisfaction, when he was called to stand in the place of Lindsey, and be the religious teacher of a congregation the first formed in England avowedly on Unitarian principles, and for its numbers perhaps the most intelligent and respectable among the Dissenters. And all must admit, whether regard be had to his labors as a preacher and lecturer, or as a critic, controversialist and occasional writer, that he was not unmindful of the new respnosibilities he had incurred. For the last thirty years of his life, and until extreme old age had begun seriously to dim and impair his faculties, he was everywhere looked up to as the acknowledged head of his party, at once the coryphæus and the patriarch of English Unitarianism. He did not quit his residence at Grove Place until the death of Mrs. Lindsey, January 18, 1812; on which melancholy event, Essex-Street House being now vacant, he repaired thither, and there passed the remainder of his days.

The influence of Mr. Belsham's ministry is said to have been greatly enhanced by two practices, which he pursued through many years, — the exposition of the Scriptures, and the delivery of systematic lectures, to young persons. To

the first we are indebted for his work on Paul's Epistles; to the last for almost all his other considerable publications. The following enumeration of the subjects of the courses of lectures delivered by him at Essex Street, in the order of their delivery, will show that they constituted, and were intended to constitute, a complete system of moral and religious instruction.

"1. The *Evidences*, External and Internal, of the Jewish and the Christian Revelation. The substance of these lectures was published. 2. *Inspiration*; the Claims of Jesus and his Apostles to it; the Degree and Limits in which it may be attributed to the Writings of the New Testament. 3. The *Text* of the New Testament; its Corruptions; means of its Restoration. Published, in substance, in the Introduction to the Improved Version. 4. The *Person of Christ;* the first of a series on the Doctrines of Revelation, published in the Calm Inquiry. 5. The *Holy Spirit* 6. The *Atonement.* 7. The Doctrines of *Original Sin, Election,* &c. 8. The *Constitution of a Christian Church,* and the *Positive Institutions* of the Christian Religion. Published, at least in part, in "Christianity pleading for the patronage of the Civil Power," and in the "Plea for Infant Baptism." 9. The Nature and Foundation of *Virtue* and *Moral Obligation,* also published; and, 10. The *Phenomena of the Human Mind,* concluding with a review of the natural arguments for the doctrine of a future life, for the purpose of showing that the resurrection of Jesus is the foundation of our hope of immortality. One season afterwards was occupied with a recapitulatory view of the whole, 'arranged in proper order, and according to their natural connexion,' and prefaced with two sermons, which were published, "On the Love of Truth," and, "On the Benefits of Theological Controversy." And thus closed this noble and useful portion of his public labors." *

It was, therefore, from actual experience of the advantages and benefits of this plan, that he was so earnest and strenuous in recommending it to his clerical brethren.

"I am very glad to hear," he observes in writing to one of them, "that you have established a lecture for young people, and that it is so well attended. In this way I think a minister may be most useful; and I confess I greatly prefer it to all mission-

* Monthly Repository, New Series, Vol. IV. pp. 171, 172.

ary proceedings, though in some cases these are not without their use, in exciting attention to theological subjects; but I do not as yet see, that in many cases they have done any permanent good. Our friend Mr. Kenrick never was a very popular man. He had a great dislike to illiterate preachers, and to every thing irregular and eccentric; but of all Unitarian ministers he was most useful, by expounding the Scriptures regularly in public, and by delivering a systematic course of lectures to the young men of his congregation, who all grew up enlightened, confirmed, and zealous Unitarians, so that at the end of twenty years the spirit of the congregation was entirely changed." — pp. 652, 653.

Again he writes to Dr. Carpenter:

"I am told that you are about to give a course of lectures to your young people, and am glad to learn that many have given in their names to attend. This is a good sign. I have no great opinion of sudden conversions, nor have I any very high expectations from missionary preaching; nor any implicit confidence in missionary reports. The time has not yet come 'for a nation to be born in a day.' But where the well-informed pastor of a large congregation condescends to instruct the youth of his charge in the principles of moral and religious truth, and to go on from year to year, gradually enlarging their acquaintance with divine things, and assisting them to form connected and comprehensive views of Christian doctrine in its substantial evidence, its beautiful harmony, and its practical tendency, from labors so judiciously and perseveringly exerted, hardly any thing appears too much to expect. A seed-time so auspicious must issue in a copious harvest. Such has been the happy consequence at Exeter eminently, and at Birmingham, and a few other places. But this requires time and pains, and patience, and does not suit the views and expectations of those who expect converts to fly as a cloud, and to make proselytes by hundreds, by preaching a few doctrinal discourses." — p. 677.

Writing in 1819, to a young and highly respected friend, who was pursuing his studies at Göttingen, Mr. Belsham gives his opinion of German theology, not marked, as it will be seen, by a very thorough knowledge of the subject, or a just and necessary discrimination.

"I am very much interested in the account you send of the lectures upon which you have attended. I love the critical, and I abhor the theological works of the the German writers.

I am astonished that the absurd hypothesis of anti-supernaturalism should have prevailed to such a degree. Is it possible that those who hold such opinions should be serious? Must they not certainly know, that to deny the miracles of Christ is to deny his divine mission, which is itself a miracle; and that, in fact, it is downright infidelity? Is it possible that a man of understanding can be satisfied with explaining the miracle of stilling the tempest by composing quarrels between the boatmen and the disciples: or the death of Ananias, by supposing that Peter was in a passion, and stabbed him; or that Ananias, terrified by Peter's threat, fell down in a swoon and was buried alive; or, that our Lord's ascension was nothing more than his running down the opposite side of the hill during a thick fog, while two of his confederates, dressed in white for the purpose, amused the Apostles by telling them that he had ascended into heaven, though in truth he was only gone off to Damascus, where he was alive and well, and master of a numerous and reputable school at the time of Paul's conversion? Such fictions as these are so gross an insult upon the understanding, that I do not wonder Paulus * is unwilling to finish his Exposition, and that Ammon * has changed his mind. To call such interpreters of Scripture believers in Christianity is an abuse of language. They are dishonest infidels. Like Hume, they deny the possibility of miracles, but they do not, like Hume, honestly declare their disbelief of the Christian religion; which, however, they must know that it is impossible they should believe.

"I know but two persons in this country who are disciples of the German theology. And it is remarkable that no individual has ever undertaken the public defence of the cause of anti-supernaturalism in this country, and I am confident that, if it was ever broached, it could not stand for an hour against the argument and the ridicule which would be poured upon it." — pp. 703, 704.

It is much to the credit of Mr. Belsham, that, living as he did in the most exciting period of English politics, not even excepting the present, he kept himself to so great a degree aloof from all merely political connexions and discussions. His position, however, in the Dissenting body, and as the minister at Essex Street, brought him not unfrequently into correspondence or society with public men. After describing, in a letter to his friend Mr. Broadbent, the manner

* German Professors.

in which he was received and employed on a visit to Wakefield Lodge, the residence of the Duke of Grafton, he continues:

"Within doors the Duke amuses us with reading the History of his own Political Life, which he is drawing up for the information of his son, and which he desires to have published after his decease. It is drawn up with great simplicity and candor, in a very neat style, and is truly interesting; for the Duke took a very important part in the measures of administration at the origin of the American contest. And it is very curious to see upon what a slender thread the fate of empires is suspended, and upon what a nice point the most important affairs sometimes turn. If Lord Chatham had, as he ought to have done, directed the administration which he himself had formed, or even taken the pains to make known his own opinion upon the great points which were then agitated; or if Lord Rochford, whom the Duke of Grafton brought into the cabinet, had voted with the Duke after his introduction, the quarrel with America would have been made up. There would have been no American Revolution, and consequently no French Revolution; and how different would the state of the world, in that case, have been! So we vainly talk and reason; whereas, in fact, every thing happens, in time and place, as the wisdom of the great Ruler of the world has ordained that it should, and the passions and prejudices, the pride and ambition of mankind, are only instruments which he makes use of to accomplish the purposes of his providence. His counsel shall stand, and what he wills is right."—pp. 570, 571.

In another letter to the same gentleman, under date of July 20, 1807, he gives the following account of an interview which he and a few of his brethren had with some of the leading whigs.

"The zeal of the Dissenters, and particularly of the Dissenting ministers in Yorkshire * in favor of the late administration, and the disdain with which they generally treated the cry of 'No Popery,' has given the leaders of that party a more favorable opinion of Dissenters, and induced some of them to desire an interview with a few of the Dissenting ministers in London. Accordingly, we were invited to dine at Mr. Serjeant Heywood's about a fortnight ago. The party consisted of Lord Holland, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Howick, Lord Stanley, Mr.

"* In behalf of Lord Milton."

Whitbread, and Mr. W. Smith, on the one hand; and per contra, Dr. Rees, Mr. Jervis, Mr. Aspland, Dr. Lindsay, and myself. I expected it to have been an insipid party, but it proved otherwise. Dr Lyndsay, (late Mr. Lyndsay, of Monkwell Street, who, you know, is a bold and intelligent man, told Lord Howick, that when he was in power he did not go far enough. 'You will do no good, my Lord,' said he, 'until you do something for the people. If you were to come in again to-morrow, you would be turned out the next day, if you brought forward any measure that was offensive to the Court. If you would bring forward your own plan of Parliamentary Reform, you might do some good, but till then you can do nothing.' Lord Howick, who is a very proud, reserved man, gazed with great attention and amazement at our friend Lindsay, not having been used to be addressed with so much freedom and so little ceremony; but he did not appear to be at all offended; and with the greatest politeness and good humor replied, 'He was now as much a friend to Parliamentary Reform as ever, but he was fully persuaded, that if he should bring forward a measure of this kind into the House, at present, he should be left in a very small and a very unpopular minority;' and Lord Holland added, 'That the people stood in great need of being enlightened, for he was fully persuaded that if we had at this time, a House of Commons which spoke the sense of the great mass of the people, we should be in a much worse situation than we are at present.' I thought all this very good sense, but my friend Lindsay was not convinced. The conversation, however, was kept up with great spirit and good humor till half-past ten o'clock, when we parted. The clerical guests liked the party very much, and I hope that the political guests were not displeased. We all agreed that Lord Holland was a most amiable and agreeable man, and that he had much of the appearance and style of his late admired and regretted relation." — pp. 574 – 576.

Probably no writer has suffered more than Mr. Belsham from the disingenuousness and misrepresentations of his opponents, and particularly of Mr. Williams, Bishop Magee, and the Quarterly Reviewers. This is partly to be imputed to the prominence given to him by the controversies of the day as a popular object of attack, of whom the multitude were prepared to believe the worst that could be said, without examination or reflection. It is partly also to be ascribed to the faults and defects of his own mind and style, the propensity, already noticed, to present obnoxious truths un-

der the most offensive forms, and an occasional want of accuracy, sometimes of meaning and sometimes of expression, generally attributable, we presume, to hurry and inadvertency. Dr. Carpenter in his "Examination of Bishop Magee's Charges against Unitarians and Unitarianism," has ably and successfully vindicated his friend against all imputations seriously affecting either his reputation for honesty, candor, and general scholarship, or his christian character. Nevertheless Mr. Belsham's writings have never been much read in this country, nor are they ever appealed to by Unitarians here as authority, nor are they understood to represent, nor do they in fact represent, our habits of thinking and feeling on scarcely a single subject. One reason for this has been indicated above in saying that we do not go along with him at all in many of his favorite speculations respecting the nature of the soul, the springs of human action, and the laws and conditions of spiritual life. Another reason is to be found in the peculiar character of Mr. Belsham's mind; which was too much under the influence of what was local and temporary. Hence he became a controversialist; hence, as a controversialist, his attention was almost exclusively engrossed by questions which then happened to be agitated in the community; hence his ability and success as an occasional and party writer; hence, in short, he thought, felt, and wrote as an English Unitarian Dissenter, for English Unitarian Dissenters, his cotemporaries. Accordingly, notwithstanding his acknowledged talents, learning, and industry, he has probably left few if any monuments of either, which will be recognised by foreigners, or outlast the present generation. *

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* Nothing will better illustrate the activity and peculiar character of Mr. Belsham's mind, than the following, which we believe to be a correct and full list of his publications.

1. The evil Nature and Pernicious Tendency of Intemperate and Misguided Zeal. A Sermon. 1775.
2. A Charge, at the Ordination of Rev. T. Kenrick. 1785.
3. A Charge, at the Ordination of Rev. D. B. Jardine. 1790.
4. The Importance of Truth, and the Duty of making an Open Profession of it. A Discourse. 1790.
5. A Charge at the Ordination of Rev. W. Field. 1790.
6. The Importance of giving a proper Education to the Children of the Poor. A Sermon. 1791.
7. Dishonest Shame, the primary source of the Corruptions of the Christian Doctrine. A Sermon. 1794.

Of his fifty publications only one, so far as our knowledge extends, has been reprinted entire in this country, his "Summary View of the Evidence and Practical Importance of the Christian Revelation." It is a strong book on some points

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8. Knowledge the Foundation of Virtue. A Sermon. 1795.
9. A Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Treatise. In Letters to a Lady. 1798.
10. Freedom of Inquiry, and Zeal in the Diffusion of Christian Truth. A Discourse. 1800.
11. A Serious Caution against Popular Errors. A Discourse. 1801.
12. Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, and of Moral Philosophy. To which is prefixed, a Compendium of Logic. 1801.
13. Reflections and Exhortations adapted to the State of the Times. A Sermon. 1802.
14. The Right and Duty of Unitarian Christians to form Separate Societies for Religious Worship. A Sermon. 1802.
15. The Study of the Scriptures Recommended. A Discourse. 1803.
16. The Situation, the Prospects, and the Duties of Britons in the Present Crisis of Alarm and Danger. A Fast Discourse. 1803.
17. The Character of Christian Teachers Delineated. A Discourse. 1804.
18. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Dr. Priestley. 1804.
19. The Progress of Error concerning the Person of Christ. A Sermon. 1805.
20. Adherence to Christian Truth Recommended. A Discourse. 1805.
21. Defence of Dr. Priestley's Character and Writings; in reply to Rev. J. P. Smith. 1805.
22. Importance of Right Sentiments concerning the Person of Christ. A Sermon. 1806.
23. A Discourse on the Death of Mr. Fox. 1806.
24. The Providence of God overruling the Issues of War and Conquest. Fast Sermon. 1807.
25. A Summary View of the Evidence and Practical Importance of the Christian Revelation. In a series of Discourses. 1807.
26. Letters upon Arianism, and other Topics of Metaphysics and Theology; in reply to the Lectures of the Rev. B. Carpenter. 1808.
27. A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey. 1808.
28. The year of Jubilee Considered. A Discourse. 1809.
29. A Discourse on the Death of the Duke of Grafton. 1811.
30. A Calm Inquiry into the Scriptural Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ; including a Brief Review of the Controversy between Dr. Horsley and Dr. Priestley. 1811.
31. A Letter to Lord Sidmouth on his Bill respecting Protestant Dissenting Ministers. 1811.
32. Sermon on the Death of Mrs. Lindsey. 1812.
33. The Rights of Conscience Asserted and Defined. A Discourse. 1812.

of the argument, but very defective, considered as a full discussion of the subject, and more likely to unsettle than establish the faith of common minds by its startling and unwarrantable concessions. To this we ought, perhaps, to add the American edition, with some slight alterations, of the "New Testament, in an Improved Version," of which Mr. Belsham was the principal and responsible editor. From the seven or eight impressions of this work which have been sold

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34. Memoirs of the late Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, M. A.; including a general View of the Progress of the Unitarian Doctrine in England and America. 1812.

35. A Plea for the Catholic Claims. A Sermon. 1813.

36. The Sufferings of the Unitarians in former Times. A Discourse. 1813.

37. An Address to Inquirers after Christian Truth; in reply to Dr. Magee. 1813.

38. Claims of Dr. Priestley in the Controversy with Bishop Horsley, restated and vindicated. 1814.

39. The Progress of Intellectual, Moral, and Religious Improvement during the present Reign; in Commemoration of the Repeal of the Penal Laws against Unitarians. A Sermon. 1814.

40. Letters to the Bishop of London; in reply to Allegations against Unitarians, in his Lordship's Charge. 1815.

41. A Letter to the Unitarian Christians in South Wales; in reply to Animadversions of the Bishop of St. David's. 1816.

42. A Plea for Infant Baptism. 1817.

43. Funeral Discourse on Rev. T. B. Broadbent. 1817.

44. The Present State of Religious Parties in England. A Discourse. 1818.

45. Discourse on the Death of Sir Samuel Romilly. 1818.

46. The Bampton Lecturer Reproved; in reply to the Calumnious Charges of the Rev. C. A. Moysey and Dr. Magee. 1819.

47. Christianity Pleading for the Patronage of the Civil Power, but Protesting against the Aid of Penal Laws. Three Sermons. 1820.

48. Reflections on the History of the Creation in the Book of Genesis. A Discourse. 1821.

49. The Epistles of Paul the Apostle translated; with an Exposition and Notes. In four volumes. 8vo. 1822.

50. A Vindication of the same; in reply to the Strictures of the Quarterly Reviewers. 1824.

51. Extracts from the Writings of Eminent Divines of the Church of England on the History of the Creation and Fall, on Justification and Inspiration. 1825.

52. Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical. First Volume. 1826. Second Volume. 1827.

Mr. Belsham was also the principal and responsible editor of the Improved Version of the New Testament, published in 1808; and an able and frequent contributor to the Monthly Repository.

in England it is plain that its popularity there has been greater than amongst us, by whom Wakefield's version has been and is almost universally preferred. Mr. Belsham repeatedly refers in his diary and correspondence to the Translation and Exposition of Paul's Epistles as his "*magnum opus*"; certainly an extraordinary work, when it is considered that nearly one third of it was added, and nearly two thirds newly arranged and composed by a man over seventy, and, viewed in any light, an important accession to English theological literature. At the same time, we must say that he does not always evince that thorough scholarship, deep philosophy, and moral sympathy with his subject, which are indispensable to a uniformly successful expositor of the writings and the mind of Paul. It will be seen that Dr. Parr, though a churchman, in the following characteristic letter, could speak of Mr. Belsham's merits as a critic and author in terms of commendation more unqualified and indiscriminate, than we should care to use.

"*Hatton, Oct. 13th*, 1822.

"DEAR AND EXCELLENT MR. BELSHAM,

"I heard with satisfaction and even delight, that you have published an Exposition of the Epistles of Paul; and happy I was that a task so arduous and so important had been undertaken by a man so eminently qualified to perform it well. I accept with pleasure and with pride your offer to present me with the work, which I shall consider as the most valuable addition to the treasures of theological knowledge which I have the good fortune to possess. Mr. Belsham, I am no stranger to your attainments, to your talents, to your virtues; and there is only one subject upon which I felt surprise and sorrow that we differed so widely. I was charmed with your reply to Bishop Magee, and my opinion of his renowned work is the same as yours. Yet he is a man of parts, and from the orthodox he deserved the preferment which has been bestowed upon him. I have read Dr. Carpenter's work; it abounds with good sense and good reasoning, but it wants compression and a more clear arrangement. There is too much repetition, too much boasting, and I am compelled to add, too much acrimony. Yet he is an intelligent and a virtuous man. I have been an attentive reader of the Improved Version of the New Testament, and after making allowance for the zeal of all good men in what they think a good cause, I give them ample credit for a very useful work. Surely, dear Sir, you will not do amiss by republishing without comments the writings of a celebrated

Oxonian, Dr. Wallis, in defence of the Trinity. I have mentioned this to our friend Mr. Yates, who lent me the book. I lent him some rare and curious publications on both sides of the question. I suppose that you are well read, not only in Crellius, but in Curcellæus. I recommend Curcellæus to all inquirers. Bishop Pearce was not heterodox, but there is much learning and much honesty in his Commentary. What are we to say upon the opening of John's Gospel? I find great confusion in the order of the first chapter, and I am not without suspicion upon the authenticity of the introduction. I dare not, however, decide. Every year my mind is enlightened by theological publications from Germany, and I am a diligent student in books, scarcely known even by their titles to my clerical brethren. I take no part in any of the controversies, but I am, and ever shall be, anxious to discover what is most probable. Pray send me your book, and present my best compliments and best wishes to Dr. Rees, Mr. Cogan, and Mr. Aspland. If I were seated at Lambeth, I should summon these worthies to my table. As to public matters, I am quite in despair. I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with great respect, your faithful friend, and obedient, humble servant,

"S. Parr."

—pp. 737, 738.

The old age of Mr. Belsham was tranquil and happy. When entering on his sixtieth year, he thus expresses himself:

"It seems to me hardly credible that I can have travelled so far in the journey of life; that I have arrived at an age that I formerly regarded as almost the extreme limits of the human career.

——— 'To gentle life's descent
We shut our eyes, and think it is a plane.'

One fact is remarkable; I find myself happier in the present stage of existence than in that which preceded it. I formerly possessed a more acute sense of pleasure, and many things in which I once took delight would be a fatigue and a burden. But I am more quiet; I am more free from painful contests, from painful feelings, and from painful expectations; and upon the whole, though there is a mixture of painful sensation with pleasurable feeling, yet these feelings are more amalgamated with each other, and I am constrained and thankful to acknowledge, that the excess is pleasurable, and the preponderance is on the side of happiness. Thanks be to the abundant, unmerited, unchangeable goodness of God! One great cause of present satisfaction is, that I see men and things in what ap-

pears to me to be their true light. The first thirty years of life was a kind of dream. Nothing appeared in its due proportion; every object was magnified, and in a considerable degree distorted. I had notions much too exalted of rank, of opulence, of learning, of character. I might be said to be an idolater of the creature; and my religious views were irrational and false in the extreme, and a source of unspeakable pain and misery, especially during my course of studies at the Academy. They completely destroyed the comfort of my life, and made the naturally delightful season of youth an insupportable burden. I will not, however, deny, that this discipline may have been, upon the whole, an advantage. After I took the charge of the Academy at Daventry, and still more since I came to London, I have seen many things. I have conversed with men of learning, with men of opulence, with men of rank, with men of virtue. I have been shown behind the scene, and have seen something of men as they are I have been introduced, as it were, into a new world. The scales have fallen from my eyes, and I have learned to form a more correct, and for that reason a more satisfactory judgment of human characters and human life. I have learned neither to think too highly, nor to expect too much from men; and in this corrected state of the feelings I experience a considerable degree of satisfaction." — pp. 585 – 587.

His constitutional dread of dissolution appears also gradually to have given way. At the age of seventy-six, he writes:

"I lately read, that a Dr. Hunter, when he was dying, about half an hour before he expired, said, 'that he wished he had it in his power to write how very easy and pleasant a thing it was to die.' And Dr. Priestley, when he was seized with that suspension of his voice which attacked him a day or two before his death, when he recovered it again, said, 'that he never felt himself more easy and comfortable than during the time that he lost his speech.' And the mother of my worthy friend, Mr. Richard Smith, when dying (which event took place between the services of Sunday), inquired of her children, as they stood round her bed-side, what was the subject of the discourse which they had heard at chapel, and who of their friends were present, and who absent, and concluded with expressing how little she felt of pain and uneasiness. Her expression was, 'that dying was nothing, and that she suffered nothing.' Indeed, with regard to myself during this long illness, I consider myself as having more than once suffered all that I could have suffered, had I never recovered from that state

of insensibility into which I had fallen. So that I do not regard the act of dying as deserving all that dread with which it is usually contemplated, and with which, notwithstanding all the experience that I have had, I cannot avoid contemplating it still. It is our best consolation, that we are in the hands of a merciful and faithful God, who knows our frailty, who pities our infirmity, and who remembers that we are dust." — pp. 757, 758.

In his eightieth year he again writes:

"I am as well as fourscore will allow. My breath is impeded: my articulation is imperfect: and I am entirely laid aside from public service. Here I stand, 'waiting (as Dr. Watts says) God's leave to die,' and suffering no pain. I have kind, very kind attendants." — p. 770.

His biographer adds:

"About this time, in conversation with his very highly esteemed friend, Mr. Thomas Gibson, Mr. Belsham spoke of himself and of his approaching dissolution, and of the great pleasure and satisfaction he enjoyed in reviewing the scenes and events of his past life, particularly as derived from those better views which he had adopted of the character of the Supreme Being, and of his government and providence. These, he said, had been the source of the greatest and purest delight, and were the ground of a fervent and joyful hope, that when that event happened, 'which happeneth alike to all men,' he should, at the appointed time, be united to the society which he loved and valued, and partake with them of that happiness to which his thoughts were so constantly and earnestly directed. Towards the close of the year his health and strength rapidly declined. He was not subjected to any violent or distressing pain, but nature was exhausted, and he sunk to rest, with the tranquillity and peace of one, 'who had finished his course, who had contended honorably in the games,' and who knew and was assured, 'that there was laid up for him a crown of glory, which the Lord, the righteous Umpire, would give him in that day,' 'when he should come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe.'" — pp. 772, 773. *

* A writer in the Repository, for 1830, p. 82, informs us that "the Congregational Magazine, for January, has presented its readers with an obituary of Mr. Belsham, in which, amongst sundry errors and misstatements, is the following very insidious paragraph. 'Two days of perfect consciousness preceded his dissolution; but it is reported that an ominous silence was maintained upon the opinions of the past, and the

Mr. Belsham had been subject for the last five years to a series of apoplectic attacks, in consequence of which the public services at Essex Street devolved chiefly on his colleague and successor, the Rev. Thomas Madge. He died, November 11, 1829, and his remains were consigned to the same tomb with those of the much loved and venerated Lindsey.

"Ossibus ossa meis et nomen nomine tangam."

The general remarks, already interspersed with the preceding biographical notices of Mr. Belsham, make it unnecessary to add many words in further explanation of our views of his genius and character. He appears to have been a close and laborious student, an ardent lover of the truth, and eminently dispassionate and single-hearted in its pursuit. As a dialectician also, so far as analysis went, he was ingenious and able; a qualification which fitted him to excel as a tutor and lecturer, particularly in detecting, tracing, and exposing complicated errors. But he did not possess powers of synthesis in any thing like the same proportion; he could pull down, and take to pieces, but he failed in the higher effort of mind, putting together and building up. Besides, by confession of his greatest admirers, he was singularly deficient in originality, imagination, and the faculty either to understand or move the affections; and to these natural defects are to be added those of his preparatory and aca-

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prospects of the future. If this be true, it will become the surviving champions of Unitarianism to explain the melancholy fact.' The insinuation is as untrue as the mode of putting it forth is unmanly. For several days before his death, Mr. Belsham had lost the power of distinct articulation; but even in that state, he found means to express, in a way which could not be mistaken, the composure of his mind. During some days previous, he suffered severely, and it was evident that the hand of death was on him; but then, and so long as the power of speech was allowed him, there was no silence 'upon the opinions of the past,' or 'the prospect of the future,' but such allusions to both, indicating principles unshaken and hopes undimmed, intermingled with acts of devotion, as became the humble and faithful minister of Christ when about to render up his account to his Lord. The writer has screened himself from the charge of inventing this report; he is, or at least he appears as being, only its propagator. The difference is not material. The existence of a propensity to falsify the death-bed behaviour of Unitarians has not now been manifested for the first time. 'It will become the surviving champions of *Trinitarianism* to explain the melancholy fact.'"

demical education, which were never afterwards wholly supplied, and could not be. His two volumes of Discourses, perhaps the most valuable of his publications, if we except the Memoirs of Lindsey, were like the man, and correspond in all respects with the accounts that are given of his appearance and manner in the pulpit. "In the pulpit," to borrow Mr. Aspland's words, "there was in our friend the dignity that belongs to manly simplicity. He practised no arts in preaching. There was an interesting repose in his manner. A distinct enunciation and a clear and steady tone of voice allowed the hearer to receive calmly, and to meditate freely upon the matter of discourse."

As a controversialist, Mr. Belsham's regard for truth sometimes tempted him to carry to an extreme the doctrine, that the truth can do no harm. The truth *can* do no harm; but then it must be the truth understood, and not the truth misunderstood. Our objection to Mr. Belsham is that he sometimes persisted in using language which caused the truth to be misunderstood; and, thus misunderstood, it was as hurtful as error itself. It is remarkable that, prone as the subject of this memoir was to innovate in speculation, he was nevertheless inclined to be a conservatist in regard to forms, precedents, and establishments. His non-conforming brethren, more republican in their notions of things, could never entirely forgive him for affecting the aristocracy of Unitarianism, for the deference he paid to Whig Lords, nor, least of all, for his "Christianity pleading for the Patronage of the Civil Power." When Mr. Belsham resigned his place at Daventry on account of the change in his opinions, he evidently acted under an impression that his honesty and independence on this occasion would be fatal to his prospects of distinction and worldly advantage; but his constancy as a confessor was never put to the test of actual suffering and sacrifice. He gratefully acknowledges that all the great changes in his life were from good to better; and concludes with observing, "I made a fine speculation when I forsook all for God and conscience." This circumstance lends the charm of poetical justice to his biography, and must make it so much the more effectual as an example to those, who would like to be honest and independent but are afraid of the consequences.

Mr. Belsham had his mission; he has fulfilled it, and

passed to his reward. It is consistent with great respect for his memory to say, that what he was fitted to begin, others have arisen who are better fitted to carry forward and accomplish. In the recent publications of the English Unitarians we are struck with the presence of more fervor, greater expansion of thought, a better philosophy, and a happier union and blending together of the rational and the spiritual. The writings of Priestley and Belsham are no longer a fair exponent of the state of philosophy and religion among them, any more than amongst us. Thus, according to the wise and beneficent arrangements of Providence, the exigency never fails to create the man it requires, and the religious teachers and guides of one age, instruct the ages that follow, as well by their errors and defects, as by their discoveries and excellences.

ART. VII. — *The Christian Psalmist; being a Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, compiled from the most approved Authors, and designed as a standard Hymn-Book for Public and Social Worship.* New York. J. & J. Harper. 1833. 16mo. pp. 576.

As James Montgomery gave to the Christian public, some few years ago, a collection of sacred songs, entitled "The Christian Psalmist," which collection has furnished several pieces to the compilers of this, its American namesake, we presume that the latter comes to us from members of the Christian denomination, so called, because the title, though preoccupied, was the most appropriate which they could employ. We offer this as a conjecture only, and as the best explanation which occurs to us, of the circumstance of our having two "Christian Psalmists."

The American compilation has the advantage over Montgomery's in being of a more liberal, catholic, and truly Christian character. In the latter there are many hymns, which only Trinitarians, and believers in some particular doctrines of scholastic theology, could conscientiously sing. In the former there are but a very few Hymns, which, in respect to doctrine, could not be received by all Christians. On the

score of poetical taste, however, it must yield to its predecessor, as it contains much matter which could not be seriously said or sung by those whose taste is tolerably refined. We do not mean that the collection is deficient in good hymns. On the contrary, among the whole number of metrical pieces embraced in it, which the index of contents tells us is eleven hundred and thirteen, may be found a large portion of the best hymns we possess. But contrasted with these, there are several which deserve immediate expulsion, not only from the book, but from the language. We speak not at all too strongly. We have no objection to the quality of warmth in sacred poetry, but admire it, and are poorly satisfied with a cold correctness in those compositions which above all others should abound in the expression of feeling. But extravagance, crudity, and absurdity are so totally at variance with sentiments of true devotion, in communion with the Source of intelligence, or in contempation of the sublime doctrines and principles of Christianity, that they can hardly be visited with a severer reprobation than they deserve.

In order to specify distinctly what we mean, we will point out a few examples from this collection. No one can appreciate more highly than we do, for instance, the fine tone of Christian triumph in Hymn 146, taken from Pratt's Collection, and beginning,

> "The Saviour lives, no more to die;
> He lives, the Lord enthroned on high;
> He lives, triumphant o'er the grave;
> He lives, eternally to save!"

But what defence can be set up in favor of the next hymn but one, taken from the Vermont Collection, and entitled "*Apple-tree*"?

> "The tree of life our souls *hath* seen,
> Laden with fruit, and always green;
> The trees of nature fruitless be,
> Compared with Christ, the apple-tree.
>
> "This beauty doth all things excel,
> By faith we know, but ne'er can tell,
> The glory which we now can see
> In Jesus Christ, the apple-tree."

And so on, through five vapid verses more, all ending with "Christ, the apple-tree"! The apple is undoubtedly a val-

usable fruit, especially in New England; and to this fact is perhaps owing the exalted place which it holds, as a type, in the Vermont Collection. Nevertheless in our opinion, it loses its dignity and usefulness, when thus unnaturally grafted into sacred poetry.

Again, we have no violent objection to the introduction of the well known Methodist Hymn, "The voice of free grace cries, 'Escape to the mountain';" — indeed there is a picturesque beauty in the last verse which pleases us exceedingly.

"With joy shall we stand, when escaped to the shore,
With harps in our hands we 'll praise him the more;
We 'll range the sweet plains on the bank of the river,
And sing of salvation for ever and ever!"

But when such warlike hymns as those from which we shall presently quote, are brought into the field, in which hymns the Scripture comparisons of Jesus to a leader, and his followers to soldiers, are amplified and distorted into language which could only come decently from the mouth of a common recruiting-sergeant, our patience is put to flight How can we be patient with verses like the following?

"Hark! listen to the trumpeters,
They call for volunteers;
On Zion's bright and flow'ry mount,
Behold their officers;
Their garments white, their armour bright,
With courage bold they stand,
Enlisting soldiers for their King,
To march to Canaan's land.

"It sets our hearts all in a flame,
His soldiers for to be;
We will enlist, gird on our arms,
And fight for liberty —
We want no cowards in our bands
Who will their colors fly;
We call for valiant-hearted men,
Who 're not afraid to die.

"To see his armies on parade,
How martial they appear;
All arm'd and dress'd in uniform,
They look like men of war.

They follow their great General,
The great all-conq'ring King,
His garments stain'd in his own blood,
King Jesus is his name." — pp. 534, 535.

The hymn which follows this, is of the same character, and was no doubt composed by the same member of the church militant who indited the preceding. It is entitled "*Enlisting Orders,*" and begins,

"O don't you hear the alarm!
Hark! how the trumpet sounds."

And in the third verse the call to enlist is urged in the following moving manner.

"O who will list for Jesus,
A soldier now to make,
And like a faithful subject,
His armour on you take:
Here 's food and raiment plenty,
Enough and some to spare,
And all things else provided,
Which you shall need to wear." — p. 535.

Bad as this is, there are two or three verses in other hymns, which are worse, and so bad that we absolutely cannot print them. And perhaps we have printed too much already; but our design has been to show how a good book may be marred by some glaring defects, and how religion may be injured by its friends, and also to induce, if possible, the compilers of this Collection to omit in another edition, those hymns which are so decidedly objectionable. It is a pity they were ever printed, and the sooner they are out of print the better. We will not enter here upon a discussion of the principles of taste, or attempt to show why one thing is and another is not in harmony with them. They who cannot see that the lines which we have last quoted are as far as possible from being in good taste, would hardly be enlightened by any thing which we could find time to say on the subject. We do not question that there are many worthy Christians to whom extravagance in hymns and sermons too, is rather a recommendation, and who can sing such military effusions as the above with great seriousness and merely to their seeming edification. But it is to be considered on the

other hand, that their likings may be gratified at a less expense, and that those effusions are precisely the kind of food on which scoffers live. We can have that evangelical warmth which is grateful to all, without that cant which is disgusting to many serious persons, and which gives those who are destitute of seriousness ample occasion to blaspheme. We have spoken plainly, but we are conscious that we have spoken in love, — in love to the unknown compilers, and love to the cause of pure religion, which we ought to regard with more deference than any individuals, however respectable, and whether known or unknown. To prove that we have not noticed the defects of this book in a spirit of captiousness or unkindness, and do not suffer its defects to turn aside our memory from its beauties, we repeat that a large portion of our best hymns is to be found in it, and that in its whole extent it is quite a treasury of sacred song.

ART. VIII. — *An Address delivered before the Young Men of Boston, associated for Moral and Intellectual Improvement, on the Fifty-seventh Anniversary of American Independence.* By AMASA WALKER, President of of the Boston Lyceum. Published by request. Boston. Allen & Ticknor. 1833.

PERHAPS no oration has ever been delivered under circumstances of a higher moral interest than those which attended the delivery of this Address.

Eleven Societies, composed of young men associated together for the purest and loftiest purposes for which mankind can enter into combined efforts, and embracing more than fifteen hundred members, united in celebrating the anniversary of our national independence in a manner worthy of their sires, of their country, of themselves, and of the cause of intellectual and moral improvement. There was no eating or drinking to show that they could be exhilarated only by indulgence of the sensual appetites; but a simple procession from the Capitol to the Chauncy-Place Church, and an Address by one of their number, constituted the celebration.

Each Society formed by itself, and was distinguished in the procession by an appropriate badge; and seldom have we seen a collection of citizens presenting to the eye of a philanthropist so many features of interest. In beholding such an array of youthful forms and faces, clothed with the vigor and beauty of early life, and eloquent of high hopes and exalted purposes and determined energy, we could not help considering these young men as the character-makers for a coming generation, and rejoicing in the belief that they, and such as they, would determine the future fate of our country.

When the procession had reached the church and were seated, the eye of the orator must have glanced over the crowded assembly of young men below and of young ladies above, with unmingled satisfaction, and his heart must have kindled into new ardor at the idea of giving impulse to such a host, engaged in such a cause. Never before have we beheld an audience so calculated to inspire a speaker and give fervor to his feelings and utterance. They were his associates and fellow-laborers, who were gathered together to receive encouragement and listen to advice from him who was about leaving their ranks for the company of the middle-aged, — from him who had passed through the temptations with which young men are surrounded and beset, and who was therefore competent to utter the lessons of experience and wisdom, as a farewell offering. Well might both speaker and hearers feel that an occasion like this has seldom occurred in the history of our race, and that an era of unprecedented moral interest was then begun.

How different this celebration from that of 1831, the convivial part of which was so disgraceful to the young men of Boston, by its intemperate excesses! The contrast furnishes proof that a very great and a truly blessed reform has within two years taken place in our city. Upon this reform we should like to dwell at considerable length, exhibiting its progress, and developing the causes by which it has been produced. But we must defer this pleasant task to another opportunity. Suffice it to remark at present that two years ago the Societies which took the lead in this celebration, and whose numerical force is greatest, were not organized, and that there was, in fact, at that time scarcely a Young Men's Society known as such in the city.

This sudden acquisition of confederated energy by a once powerless class of the community is an event not a little remarkable, and, while we may regard it as the legitimate effect of our free institutions and of the improvements which have recently been made in the science of education, cannot but be looked upon as destined to exercise a momentous influence upon our future history. There are those now living, — nay, in the freshness of mid-life, who can recollect the contempt showered down from all quarters on the young men of this good city in consequence of an attempt on their part to celebrate some public festival during the political life of the departed patriot John Adams. The effort was considered the result of juvenile folly and impertinence, and as such received with universal rudeness by the older classes of society. Amongst other occurrences of that day, we remember to have heard the following related by one who was perfectly familiar with all the facts. The young men appointed a committee of two, consisting of young gentlemen of the most respectable character and connexions, of whom, if we mistake not, Mr. Francis J. Oliver was one, to wait on Mr. John Adams in Quincy and invite him to honor the celebration by his attendance. They discharged their duty to the best of their ability, but met a refusal delivered in a manner which provoked their indignation; although it was probably such as any other eminent man would have then bestowed on what was considered an upstart generation, who knew not their proper sphere.

Who would now regard the celebration of our country's birth-day by young men as a piece of youthful vanity? Who would now, however exalted in office or dignified by an illustrious life, think of meeting a committee of young men with rudeness, or in any way but respectfully?

The change is indeed wonderful. Moral and political power are no longer concentrated in the ranks of the grey-haired and care-wrinkled. They have settled towards the base of society, and are now wielded more fully perhaps by the class whose ages extend from twenty years to six and thirty, than by any other. We cannot but feel deeply anxious for the event of this revolution. Antiquity from her garnered store-house of experience furnishes no information of the probable result. The case is new in human history; and while we continue to remember that hitherto counsel and

system have been confined to the aged, and that the young have walked in a path, and acted on a plan, marked out for them by their seniors, or that the fiery elements which glow in the bosom of young men are continually in rebellion against their immature and unpractised judgments, and of course likely to lead them into untried and perilous paths, we must continue to watch over the present peculiar phenomena of society with the most anxious concern.

It is to be hoped that the friends of religion and of good order will be on the alert to avert every danger that can be apprehended from this novel state of things; and especially that those who have the charge of educating the hearts and forming the principles of children, will act under a full appreciation of their increased responsibilities.

We now proceed to notice the Address itself, with the general preliminary remark that its subject was judiciously chosen, and the subordinate topics treated in a manner worthy of the occasion, while its reception, hearty and enthusiastic, exhibited at once a fraternal unanimity of feeling amongst the audience, and a most desirable state of moral sentiment.

In his exordium, the orator very briefly and with much eloquence alluded to the glorious recollections and still more glorious hopes associated with the day, and recalled to memory some of the well-fought fields and some of the illustrious names of our revolutionary history. While the names "of Washington and Warren and Putnam," "of Adams and Hancock and Henry" escaped from his lips, we could not but wish that the biographies of our great men were more generally read by our youthful brethren, and that a familiar acquaintance with their private history and public acts, with their motives and principles, should make the mention of their names alone a key to unlock the treasury of patriotic reminiscences, as it would infallibly furnish some of the most perfect models of imitation that could be gathered from the annals of our race.

From this natural allusion to the past, the speaker turned to a consideration of the influence which the future destiny of our country would feel from the agency of the Societies, before which he spake, — Societies for elevating the minds and purifying the hearts of mankind, and thus laying the broad foundation of national prosperity, — *the intelligence*

and virtue of the people. Into the character and purposes of these combined Societies he then proceeded to examine, — and in so doing presented to the minds of the virtuous and philanthropic the fairest and most hopeful field in which their energies can be employed.

"To furnish the means of *intellectual improvement* to the mass of common mind," he declared was one of the chief objects of these associations, — an object whose pursuit was based on the principle that it is far better to have the many well informed than the few learned.

This object is accomplished by furnishing to all classes of society an opportunity of continuing their education after the school-house has been abandoned, and they have been sent forth into the wide world of labor.

While the orator dwelt upon this topic, and spoke of the necessity of making fashionable the devotion of all classes in society to literary and scientific pursuits, what hearer could refrain from noticing how few of the *fashionable* part of the community, commonly so called, were present; — from remembering how few of them are engaged in any one of these Societies for either intellectual or moral improvement?

"We wish," continued the speaker, "to change the *moral character* of our Metropolis." Not, he says, because our city is infamous for crime and corruption; not because there are not now to be found in her a multitude of virtuous citizens, and perhaps a larger proportion of such than can be found in any other city: — but because vice still lingers here, however secretly, and still finds her thousand victims; preying in an especial manner upon the young. He would prove the fallacy of that long received doctrine that a city must needs be the metropolis of crime, the haunt of moral disease and death, — the sentiment which Cowper utters when he says

> "———— Rank abundance breeds
> In gross and pampered cities sloth and lust,
> And wantonness and gluttonous excess.
> In cities vice is hidden with most care,
> Or seen with least reproach: and virtue, taught
> By frequent lapse, can hope no triumph there
> Beyond the achievement of successful flight."

That this doctrine is altogether true must be denied not only by the orator, but by every other reasonable man. We

look upon cities, not as necessarily great moral and political nuisances, but as the hearts of the social system to which they belong,— in which, from the active intercourse of mind with mind, springs up almost every grand movement by which the condition of society at large is affected, — in which alone can be found that energy which is necessary to give impulse at the outset to every enterprise of magnitude and difficulty, — where begins the pulsation which shall eventually force the principle of life through every channel of the great system around it. Such are cities, — but not such alone. It is a part of the purpose of the Associated Young Men's Societies to reduce them to this simplicity of character. And they feel that he who denounces cities as intolerable evils must in the extension of that principle abandon all social and political compacts, on the theory of Robert Owen.

The agency of the Association formed within the past year under the name of "The Young Men's Society" is particularly alluded to by Mr. Walker, as having accomplished much good, and as promising much more for the future. We are happy to seize this occasion to speak of that Society the value of which in our estimation is very great. Having for some time desired to speak of it to our readers the allusion of the orator furnishes us with a very acceptable opportunity.

The character and purposes of the Young Men's Society are peculiar. It is composed of individuals under thirty years of age, of a good moral character; and its object is to promote acquaintance and fellow feeling amongst young men in the city, and introduce them and those who come to reside in Boston to valuable associates, pure and instructive amusements and modes of spending time, and to safe places of abode.

One of the earliest measures of this Society was to purchase a valuable and carefully selected library of nearly a thousand volumes, and establish a reading-room furnished with the choicest periodical publications. These are open to the members every evening in the week except Sunday and Monday.

Circulars containing a specification of the purposes of the Society, together with the names and residences of the Board of Managers, were sent to every clergyman in this

Commonwealth, with the request that he would furnish every young man coming from his parish to Boston with a letter of introduction to the Recording Secretary, so that he could instantly on his arrival receive the benefits of the Association.

The Society meets once in each month, in the evening, and hears a report from a committee appointed at the preceding meeting to examine any given subject connected with the moral welfare of the community. Many of these reports have been drawn up with great care and in a form which would have done honor to any committee, whether we regard the facts contained in them, the principles developed, or the ability displayed in their execution. Gambling, Intemperance, Theatres, Slavery, Lotteries, Infidelity in our country, and various other subjects of importance, have already been reported on in this manner. The measures of the Society in relation to Lotteries were particularly vigorous and efficient, and have done much to produce a correct train of public sentiment on this subject. The lecture prepared at their request by Mr. Gordon and by them published, had nothing more been done, would have been justly deemed a satisfactory result of their labors. That pamphlet, it is hoped, will do a great deal to procure the speedy abatement of these moral nuisances, these stupendous systems of legalized knavery, from the United States.

These reports are read, and generally give rise to appropriate Resolutions which are discussed by the Society at large, and accepted or rejected according to their opinions on the subject.

There is no feature of sectarianism or partisanship in the Constitution or conduct of the Society; but, in the accomplishment of purposes which recommend themselves to universal good will, the members labor together on principles which exclude none but the vicious from coöperation.

The number of members belonging to this Society is already very large. There is no initiation-fee exacted; the only requisite is a good character. At each monthly meeting every member nominates for admission whomsoever he pleases, endorsing his own name on the ballot which contains that of the candidate, as a guarantee of his constitutional fitness. These nominations are referred to the Board of

Managers, who act as a committee thereon, and before the next meeting of the Society inquire carefully into the characters of the candidates, so that they may be prepared to make a correct report in the following month. The report of the Government is treated like that of any other Committee, so that membership is granted or refused by a vote of the Society at large.

The plan of this Society's operations is not yet fully matured and perfected. It has not yet furnished its members with a perfect list of boarding-houses of a character such as render them safe homes for young men inexperienced in the ways of the city. It has not yet attracted that general attention throughout the country, which is necessary to its greatest efficiency. But, so far as it has advanced, it has proceeded with sound discretion as well as laudable zeal; and from its future labors we are disposed to expect results of very great value.

The Young Men's Temperance Society is also particularly alluded to by the orator, and deserves our attention alike by the number of its members, and the energy which has characterized their efforts in the good cause during the year of its existence.

Twelve hundred young men have signed the pledge of total abstinence; and, so far as our observation has extended, there has been no dereliction from duty on the part of any member.

The organization of the Society was attended with circumstances of great interest. For three or four evenings the matter of organization, and all the leading principles of the Constitution, were discussed in crowded assemblies by the young men, and a widely-extended spirit of inquiry was excited by the debate.

Since the formation of the Society, the whole city has been diligently explored with subscription papers, a series of public lectures has been delivered, thousands of tracts distributed, delegates sent to the National Convention, and the evils of the present license-law examined into and exposed.

Through this Society it is to be hoped that a proper degree of public indignation will be directed towards that municipal patronage, and in some instances practice, of intemperance by which Boston is now disgraced. We cannot believe that even the makers and venders of ardent spirit

can regard with any respect, or give a single vote for, a public officer addicted to intoxication. Let them but be made familiar with facts, and we fear not for results.

It may not be improper here to remark, that in our opinion the friends of temperance are, not only in Boston, but throughout the State, guilty of inexcusable moral cowardice, and disgraceful neglect, in avoiding to bring the matter of temperance to the ballot-box, — to the polls. Why should we not insist on voting for unexceptionable candidates? Why should we fear to separate ourselves from those who will give their suffrages to the devotees of strong drink? Do we dignify and elevate into respect the good cause by doing what we can as electors to confer offices of trust and emolument on the intemperate? Far otherwise. If a friend of temperance votes for a drunkard, he is certain to be despised by all, not excepting the drunkard himself, alike for his cowardice and inconsistency. We are no disciples in the school which teaches the doctrine of making "*I would* wait upon *I dare not.*" But we are firm believers in the propriety of making the private character, not less than the political creed, of a candidate for office the subject of the most rigid scrutiny. Until this principle be adopted into general practice, our laws will continue to be made and administered by the enemies of moral reform.

The next purpose of the several Young Men's Societies mentioned by Mr. Walker, is "to furnish ourselves and others with innocent and rational amusement."

He assumes it as a fundamental truth that amusements of some description are essential to both corporeal and mental health. That these amusements need not be of a depraving tendency, he clearly demonstrates by the history of the Societies themselves, who have acted on this principle in furnishing the means of relaxing the mind and invigorating the animal spirits in recreations of an innocent and elevating character.

The aid derived from the female sex in the prosecution of this object, the orator acknowledges in the following paragraph, the delivery of which drew forth deserved acclamations.

"'We hold the truth to be self-evident,' that females are endowed with intellectual faculties; that they have a natural taste

for rational amusements; that if opportunity be afforded, they will participate in them with as much eagerness and pleasure as the other sex. This doctrine we know has not long been believed; or if admitted in theory, has not been practised. To scenes of splendor and gayety, to the temples of folly and fashion, ladies have for centuries been invited as companions; but from the halls of science, from entertainments of a purely intellectual nature, they have, in past times, been carefully excluded, by the lords of creation; whether from a belief in the maxim of despots, that 'the more ignorance the more peace,' or from a mistaken apprehension, that the female mind was too weak to grasp the truths of science, too depraved to enjoy the charms of literature, or too trifling and frivolous to be interested in rational pursuits, we will not determine. Certain, however, we are of the fact, and we regard it as one of the most valuable discoveries of modern days, that ladies, to all intents and purposes, have *heads*, as well as *hearts;* intellectual powers, as well as tender sensibilities; and that both these may be enlisted in the cause of virtue and knowledge with great facility and success. The application of this principle has contributed more than any one thing to the universal popularity and general establishment of Lyceums in every section of the United States, and will do more than any other towards producing all those happy effects, which the friends of those institutions so fondly and ardently anticipate."—pp. 18, 19.

"To inspire young men with a spirit of *mental independence*," to give them force of character, to arm them with a moral courage invulnerable to every thing but fear of vice, is mentioned as another grand object of such associations. The prevalent weakness of the times, which makes men fear to think for themselves, and act on their own conviction of right and wrong, is severely lashed, and the fatal effect of such an evil is most powerfully illustrated, by the hitherto universal habit of praising and admiring the enemies of our race, villains gigantic in intellect as well as villany, far more than the benefactors of mankind.

We cannot but regret that in the diversity of his topics, Mr. Walker was obliged to pass over this last important subject so briefly.

The great defect in our present systems of education is this:—they do not teach young men to reflect, to turn their attention inward, to exercise fearlessly their own understandings, and govern themselves boldly and solely by their own

consciences. Hence in a vast majority of cases young men have in fact no real character, no fixed principles, no stability of purpose, but are the creatures of circumstances, knowing no difference between reputation, or the opinions which are entertained of them by others, and character itself, which is a man's essence. To such the lofty principle which Sallust declares to have been the governing rule of Cato, "ESSE QUAM VIDERI" — *to be rather than to seem,* — is frigid and unearthly stoicism. They appear to live on the sentiment which Horace in compliment addressed to his friend,

"Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis,"

and are so much the creatures of other people's opinions that no one can place an hour's reliance upon them. They are like the drunken Tinker "Sly" in the Induction to Shakspeare's "Taming of the Shrew," who being taken up while asleep from the gutter into which he had rolled from his cups, and carried into a palace, placed upon a sumptuous couch, surrounded by obsequious attendants, and on waking addressed as "*my Lord,*" was fool enough to doubt his own identity, forswear, as a sickly dream, his former low-lived adventures, and believe himself indeed a lord. They know themselves only from the lips of others.

Great efforts are necessary, and should be made, to remedy this great evil. In a republican country especially, every citizen should be in fact what he is by profession, his own master, in all respects free and independent. An aristocracy of force of character is as properly an object of jealousy as an aristocracy of rank.

To obliterate odious and ill-founded distinctions among the various classes of the community, by bringing all who are virtuous into companionship with each other, Mr. Walker regards as another result aimed at by the various Young Men's Associations; and finally he commends the influence which they exert in creating a correct estimate of wealth, and of the proper modes of using it, as well as in preparing the man of business for a happy retreat from the cares of acquisition to the quiet of domestic life.

One very just and noble sentiment is here expressed, to which we desire to point the attention of our readers. It is, that when the business man has attained to that comfortable competence which should satisfy the wants of a rational being, as it secures him against the vicissitudes of sickness

and of old age, he should retreat from the field of competition, give place to younger aspirants in whose way he stands, and content himself with other modes of enjoyment.

Were it not for two prevalent evils this truth would oftener be practised upon. The first evil is the defective education of business men, in consequence of which, when once the habit of money-getting is formed, they have no other fountain of enjoyment, no other means of satisfying their cravings after activity of some sort or other. The second evil, and one that may be classed amongst the greatest curses with which society can be visited, is the desire of leaving large inheritances to heirs. No reflecting person can consider this desire any thing but a curse. In the first place it detains men in the labor after gold when they ought to be in retirement, using their property in doing good, and preparing themselves for death, and of course throws the most serious obstructions in the path of youthful enterprise. In the second place it leads men to overthrow one of the fundamental laws of nature, and thus prepare those whom they would benefit, for almost certain ruin.

The law to which we allude is this, that we shall always pay for an article a price equivalent to its value, — or in other words, that for a great good we shall be called on to make a great effort. He who would become learned must study long and patiently; he who seeks wealth must toil industriously and perseveringly; he who covets fame must put forth all the energies of body and mind to win it. The wisdom of this law blazes in the light of self-evidence. Its utter reversal by the law of inheritance is equally manifest. And we cannot but wonder that the history of every year, recording as it does the ruin of health, and intellect, and morals, induced by the bestowment of large estates on those who have never paid the price required by Providence, does not palsy the hand of every testator as he attempts to sign the fatal bequest, — does not teach rich men to fear the destruction of their children.

Every parent is bound to furnish his child with the means of earning his own support through life; — but to shower down the result of long continued labor upon the head of him whose brow has never been moistened with the sweat of exertion, is folly, if not SIN. If the duty of laboring for our daily bread came with the curse in Eden, it is certain

that its neglect draws down a curse far heavier and more terrible.

Such are some of the principal topics of the Address. In conclusion the speaker remarks, that the plans of these Associations terminate not with Boston, but go forth and embrace our whole land, and that the full assurance of universal success cannot be regarded as enthusiasm.

The peroration we will copy as presenting a lucid and stirring epitome of the whole Address.

"Let us then, my friends, in view of the ample encouragement afforded by the history of the past, go forward with all the confidence of hope; with all the ardor and zeal which a belief in the utility and importance of our labors can inspire.

"Our cause is one. Under whatever banner, in whatever division of the great army we move, we are aiming at the same grand and general result, the universal triumph of reason and virtue. In perfect harmony then, let us advance. The field is before us, vast as the wants of man, wide as the world; and while we bear in mind that the better part of valor is discretion, let us bring to the undertaking all the fire and energy of youthful zeal; let us prosecute our labors in the cheering hope, that we shall contribute our part towards hastening that happy era, when it shall not be necessary to license seven hundred persons *in Boston*, to distribute liquid poison daily, 'for the public good'; when every moral nuisance shall be removed, and the cities of our land be no longer the abode of pestilence and death; when a public sentiment shall be formed, before whose healthful and omnipotent influence, vice and profligacy shall be banished from all places of honor and trust; when mental culture shall be the absorbing object of youthful ambition, and intellectual emulation be their *esprit de corps;* when the taste of the community shall not require vicious and degrading amusements, nor coarse and vulgar appeals to their passions; when WOMAN shall stand forth in all her innate moral and intellectual beauty, enjoying that silent, graceful, yet commanding influence, to which, even in the most refined and elevated society, she has never been permitted to attain; when the love of acquiring wealth shall be universally blended with a disposition for the general good; when the interests and feelings of our citizens shall be so united and harmonious that no lines of invidious distinction can be drawn; when all shall enjoy equal advantages as well as equal rights; AND WHEN THE FREE INSTITUTIONS OF OUR HAPPY LAND SHALL FIRMLY REST ON THE IMPERISHABLE FOUNDATION OF UNIVERSAL INTELLIGENCE, AND PUBLIC VIRTUE."—pp. 30, 31.

We recommend the Address as a production highly creditable to a business man whose time for preparation was very short, and as embodying principles the prevalence of which amongst us ought to make us grateful to God, and the future diffusion of which through our land is an object to which we look forward with high hope and the "prayer of faith."

ART. IX. — *Friendly Letters to a Universalist on Divine Rewards and Punishments.* By BERNARD WHITMAN. Cambridge. Brown, Shattuck & Co. 1833. 12mo. pp. 356.

A full, thorough, and satisfactory treatise on a single and narrow subject affords but small scope to the reviewer. Nothing of importance is left to be added, or subtracted, or altered; nothing in short, to be done, but to describe and recommend what has been done by another. This remark applies in many respects to the work, now before us. Considered as a book for the people, and on the single point of a future retribution, waving all questions respecting the nature, degree, and duration of the rewards and punishments to be expected, it may be said to have exhausted the subject. The reader, however, must bear in mind that it is a book for the people, and not for scholars only. Otherwise his taste will be likely to be offended by the great plainness, and occasional quaintness and homeliness of the phraseology, by the frequency of verbal explanations, and an extreme minuteness and diffuseness on some topics, which under other circumstances would seem uncalled for, and by the almost total absence of learned quotations and the parade of Hebrew and Greek criticisms, which, to those who judge by the form rather than the substance, do so much to give to discussions of this nature the air of thoroughness and authority. Indeed, after all due allowance is made for the particular and express aim of this work, some may still be of the opinion that a little more care in the composition, and a little more condensation in some parts, and a little more selection and dignity in the illustrations would have given it additional attractions

among the better informed, without materially lessening its circulation and usefulness in other quarters.

In the Introductory Epistle Mr. Whitman, after drawing the proper, and now generally recognised, distinction between Restorationists and Universalists, and disavowing the intention of attacking the distinguishing doctrine of the former, makes the following disclosures respecting the nature and extent of the particular error which it is his object to expose and refute.

"'Do you assert that universalists believe in a perfect earthly retribution?' I do. Read the following official declarations. 'The fundamental principle of universalism is this, that all men shall be rewarded according to their works; that the punishment of sin is *not* delayed until the future existence, but that it is swift, sure, and inevitable. In regard to retribution, this is the doctrine of *universalists.*' 'It is a sentiment which *distinguishes us* from *all* our religious opponents, that *this life is a state of retribution* as well as of trial or probation; that *here* virtue receives an *ample* reward of happiness, and that here sin meets a *competent* punishment of misery.' 'There is in the moral government of our heavenly Father, an established administration, which secures to those who love and obey him a *present complete* reward; and one which delays not to give unto the wicked the reward of his hands. To deny this, however popular the contrary opinion may be, is a *moral delirium*, a *fatal insanity*, which not only exposes us to danger, but absolutely plunges us into trouble.' Trumpet, vol. xiii. p. 38. Cobb's Sermon in Ch. In. 1829. Ballou's Select Sermons, p. 87.

"'Do you assert that universalists believe no one will be rewarded hereafter for the goodness here acquired?' I do. Read the following official declaration. 'By this rational interpretation, we avoid the *heathen* notion of recompensing men in one state of being for the conduct they do in another. Of all reveries this is the wildest. Jesus no where taught that doctrine.' Trumpet, vol. xii. p. 134.

"'Do you assert that universalists believe no one will be punished hereafter for the sins of this life?' I do. Read the following official declarations. 'The *universalist* does not indeed believe in punishment after death for the sins of this life. *Our* doctrine is and has been, that men will not be punished in the future world for the sins of this life.' '*Universalists* do maintain that punishment in the future state is not threatened in the divine word.' Trumpet, vol. xiii. p. 42. Vol. xii. pp. 158, 190.

"'Do you assert that universalists believe all will be made happy in heaven the moment they enter upon the next conscious ex-

istence?' I do. Read the following official declaration. '*Universalists now* know of no condition for man beyond the grave but that in which he is *as the angels* of God *in heaven*. Let the opponents then refute, if they can, the views of *universalists* of the *present day*.' Trumpet, vol. xii. p. 158.

"'Do you assert that universalists believe there will be no distinctions among men in a future life?' I do. Read the following explicit declaration. 'The bible does not support the doctrine of distinctions among mankind, either in the grave or *beyond it*.' Trumpet, vol xiii. p. 38.

"'Will universalists be satisfied with having your attack confined to these opinions?' Certainly. Read the following official direction. 'When you attack the doctrine of *universalists*, we beseech you to take hold of the *real* doctrine as it is believed *now* and defended now. Refute Origen, if you can; and Relly and Winchester if you can; but do not suppose you have refuted *us*, because you have discovered discrepancies in the systems of early universalists. Neither content yourselves with combating what a private individual, here and there, of the present day believes; but take the sentiment of the *order*, read the *books of its principal authors*, and seize the principal arguments, and overturn them if you can.' Trumpet, vol. xi. p. 14.

"'Who are considered the principal authors among the universalists?' This question was once asked of an official organ by an Orthodox clergyman, so that he might become acquainted with the '*present prevailing system of universalism*'; and what answer was returned? Read the following statement. 'I took a pen and ink and wrote, Ballou on Atonement, Ballou's Notes on the Parables, Ballou's Lectures, Kneeland's Lectures, Balfour's Enquiries, and all the volumes of the Universalist Magazine or Trumpet.' Trumpet, vol. xi. p. 166."—pp. vi, vii, viii, ix.

The first, second, and fourth Letters may be regarded as preliminary, being intended to explain the nature of divine rewards and punishments, to prove that nothing like a perfect retribution is carried into effect in this world, and to define and illustrate at much length the means and true character of Christian salvation. Some will complain of prolixity here, but all must admit that the distinctions are clearly and ingeniously drawn, and that the examples are not only pertinent and striking as illustrations of the general subject, but valuable also for the practical suggestions they contain in regard to the tendencies of human conduct. Let-

ter third presents the argument from common sense and the light of nature, and Letters fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth present the direct and incidental argument from Scripture, for a future and righteous retribution. One Letter, the sixth, is exclusively occupied with an inquiry into the true import of the word *gehenna*, (translated *hell* in the Common Version) as used in the New Testament, and is by far the best popular disquisition on this subject that has come under our notice. The objections to a future retribution, and the arguments for no future retribution, are fairly stated, and amply and most satisfactorily answered and refuted in the ninth and tenth Letters. The two following Letters, with which the work concludes, give a summary of the objections to modern Universalism, and close with a few appropriate and seasonable remarks on the present state of the controversy, and on the manner and spirit with which it should be conducted.

In the fifty or sixty Universalist societies in Maine, Mr. Whitman informs us, that scarcely half a dozen churches have been gathered. He afterwards estimates the whole number of communicants in the connexion throughout the United States, three quarters of whom are still, probably, believers in restoration, at short of two thousand. It is less than we supposed, though we never participated in the apprehensions of the alarmists on this subject. We hold it to be impossible that the distinguishing doctrine of modern Universalism, defined and explained above, should prevail as a matter of positive and serious belief among Christians. If alarmists and others will take some pains to enlighten themselves, and their neighbours, respecting the laws and conditions of their moral being, and the Christian salvation, and to this end, read, and help to circulate able and approved works on the subject, like that here recommended, we make no doubt, we entertain no fears of the issue.

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ART. I. — *Essais Théologiques. — De l'Usage de la Raison, en matière de Foi.* Troisième Essai, 8vo. pp. 124. *De l'Autorité dans l'Eglise Réformée; ou, des Confessions de Foi.* Quatrième Essai. 8vo. pp. 128. Par M. CHENEVIÈRE, Pasteur et Professeur à Genève. Genève et Paris. 1831, 1832.

Essays on the Use of Reason in matters of Faith, and on Authority in the Protestant Church. Being the Third and Fourth of the *Theological Essays* of Professor CHENEVIÈRE of Geneva.

We have formerly directed the attention of our readers to this series of Theological Essays from the pen of the learned professor of Geneva, and given them some account of the first two that were published; — that on the Trinity, and that on Original Sin. We take up the Third and Fourth Essays together, because they are intimately related in their subjects. They comprise a lucid and satisfactory exposition of the great fundamental principles of Protestantism, defending them not only against the adherents of the Pope, but against the inconsistencies of Protestants, and contending with unanswerable power for their universal application and for the duty of following them to their consequences. All this, to most of our readers, will seem the very alphabet of religious and moral philosophy; they will be ready to think the talent wasted, which is expended in arguments to prove what they have long recognised as axioms of theological science. But alas, there is yet a considerable portion of the Christian community, who, when for the time

they ought to be teachers, have need that some one teach them which be the first principles. They have heard the words of freedom which Protestantism has been uttering for three hundred years, but they have caught nothing of its spirit. They are still enslaved to tradition, to authority, to antiquity, to forms and creeds. They dare neither think for themselves, nor count those safe that do so. Misunderstanding the nature and worth of Faith, they give its praise and reward to a blind assent or a fanatical emotion; and dread and denounce the use of the understanding, because it is likely to throw a light on some of the dark places of their traditional doctrine.

Knowing that there are such, and having witnessed in the recent assaults on the Genevan Church, the mischief they are likely to do to the cause of Protestant Reform, M. Chenevière, in his Third Essay, takes up the subject from the beginning, and treats it in its elementary principles. It is sad to reflect, he says, that we are reduced at the present day, in the cradle of the Reformation and in the city of Geneva, to prove that reason is to be heeded in treating of religion and Christianity. In the dark days of the middle ages, when free inquiry was prohibited by law, and authority bore sway, we can conceive that reason should have been condemned and silenced; — but that in 1831 there should be found Protestants, who regard as dangerous and impious persons those who demand an enlightened faith in accordance with the progress of the mind and of knowledge, would be thought impossible, if there were not but too much evidence to prove it real.

He begins his treatise with an inquiry concerning the nature and properties of Faith; a word used in various senses, and hence much of the mysticism and uncertainty and contradiction which have crept into the discussions concerning it. That proposition which is very true when the term is employed in one of its significations, becomes very false if it be taken in another; and if the unskilful inquirer assume one meaning in his premises and another in his conclusion, he may seem to himself to prove a truth, but it is really a falsehood. Thus, he starts with the proposition, "Without Faith it is impossible to please God;"— meaning, that confidence in the Divine character and promises of which the sacred writer is producing examples in the context. (He-

brews, xi. 6.) But by and by, treating of belief in certain articles of dogmatic theology, he calls it *Faith*, and forthwith applies to it the declaration of the Apostle; — "Without belief in these dogmas it is impossible to please God." But *this* faith is a very different thing from the former faith; and what is predicated of the one may be far from being applicable to the other. That which is true of the moral faith may not be so of the intellectual. To the want of perceiving and acknowledging this obvious distinction has in all ages been owing the greater part of the quarrels and anathemas of bigotry and superstition.

It is necessary therefore, when we are going to discuss the question of the use of reason in matters of faith, to discern clearly what we mean by faith. Our author's remarks are brief on this point, and they result in this; Faith has two parts: it is that conviction of the truth of the Christian religion which results from evidence; and it is that principle of action and life which grows out of that conviction. Where the gospel, he says, speaks of Faith as essential to salvation, it intends not only an assent to its facts and doctrines, but a hearty and feeling disposition to obedience; it implies trust and affection. So important is this, that nowhere do we learn that the admission of such and such dogmas shall save; one may admit them, and yet be without Faith in any right sense of the word. While, on the other hand, the thorough, earnest confidence and acquiescence of the heart, operating to form the character and life to holiness, will be accepted as real Faith, though it may misunderstand, or be ignorant of, many items of revealed truth.

Now this practical operation of a belief in the facts and doctrines of Christianity, which constitutes a saving faith, is the result of that conviction of mind which is the result of Evidence. The question then is, Can Evidence fairly produce its result without the active use of reason? Or, as the question may be more completely stated, Can the decision be fairly made between the truth and falsehood of the claims of the Gospel to a divine origin,— and between the claims of different contending interpretations of certain portions of its records, — without the active use of the powers of the understanding?

To state this question, is to answer it. Yet to such an

extent has the subject been mystified in the minds of theological disputants and in the religious treatises which have pretended to enlighten and guide, that the true answer to it has been really brought into doubt, and men have fancied themselves doing honor to God and their religion by uttering a bold affirmative. Many who have not the courage to do this directly, have yet contrived to come by a circuitous process to the same result, and have consented to bind the reason and conscience of their fellow-christians in the chains of authority and prescription.

Our author proceeds, therefore, in his second chapter, to state the proofs that reason is to be consulted in our inquiries and decisions. These he derives from the nature of the case, from the testimony and example of the early Christian writers, and from the assertions of the Scriptures themselves. He then examines the opposite ground, as it has been taken with greater or less distinctness by Catholics and Protestants.

The Catholic doctrine, as set forth by the Abbè de la Mennais in his treatise on Religious Indifference, is that which is examined here, as being the latest and most ingenious statement on the subject. As far as we can understand it, it amounts to something like this. There is no certain source of knowledge to man excepting authority; all his other means of attaining to truth are but so many fountains of error. The *senses* are liable to deceive us, and we never can be sure in any case that they are not imposing upon us. *Reason* is any thing but certain; it is a different thing in different men, and there is no absurdity which it has not at some time advocated. Even the *exact sciences* are anything but exact; they rest on certain axioms which are taken for granted, and must fall to the ground the moment you insist on proving their truth. There is then nothing but *authority* on which man can depend.* Authority is universal reason manifested by testimony, that is to say, by an authority

* We do not venture to translate the following passage. "Il n'y a que l'autorité qui puisse faire connaître aux hommes la vérité et la religion véritable; non seulement l'homme ne peut connaître son existence que par l'autorité, mais Dieu lui-même est dans ce cas, ce n'est que par une semblable révélation qu'il se connait lui-même." The reference is to La Mennais, tom. ii, p. 97. Our readers may like to see the passage. "Car la vérité n'est en Dieu même que l'éternelle

external to ourselves. Now no man can of himself come to the knowledge of true religion, because every individual reason is fallible; nothing is certain but the universal reason,—that is, authority. Individual reason can arrive only at opinions; it is universal reason, the highest authority, testimony, which gives knowledge and certainty. Testimony is found only in society. Man belongs to two societies, the temporal and the spiritual. The testimony of the spiritual society is to immutable truth, and its testimony is certain, because it is the expression of universal reason. Before the advent of Christ, there existed a visible spiritual society, which was the depository of primitive truths, and which rested on the testimony of the human race,—the manifestation of universal reason. Since the Christian era, this society, originally limited to one family, has become general and public. It is of course the highest authority, because its testimony as respects ancient traditions is coincident with that of the human race, and as respects other matters is the testimony of God. Amongst the various Christian communities the essential characteristics of the highest authority are found in the Catholic church; it is only in this visible spiritual society, that the marks of true religion are to be found; this alone has preserved it by its invariable uniformity of doctrine. Thus, authority leads to Catholicism, as opposition to it leads to absolute skepticism.

Such is the precious process of ratiocination by which this plausible Abbé would demonstrate the infallibility of the Papal church. We have thought it worth laying before our readers as a curiosity; but it certainly cannot be worth while to enter into an explanation of our author's refutation of this and other similar crudities. It seems to us, we must confess, that the Abbé, as far as we can judge from the speci-

raison manifestée par le témoignage du Verbe, et la certitude divine n'est qu'une foi infinie en ce témoignage éternellement rendu et éternellement cru; et la religion, qui nous unit à Dieu en nous faisant participer à sa foi et à son amour, n'est encore, dans ses dogmes, que ce témoignage traduit en notre langue par le Verbe lui-même revêtu de notre nature, ou la manifestation sensible de la raison universelle; en sorte que si nous voulons y être attentifs, nous comprendrons que Dieu, avec sa toute-puissance, ne nous pouvait donner une plus haute certitude des vérités que son fils est venu nous révéler, puis qu'il ne les connaît, ou ne se connaît lui-même, que par une semblable révélation."

mens here given us, has been ambitiously engaged in fabricating a parody on the mystifications of the transcendentalists; and, in attempting to grasp at some new and high way of saying old things, has contrived to get into the clouds, hoping that others at least might charitably think he talked wisdom, though he probably did not understand himself. If we should ever have occasion to publish a revised edition of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, we should be inclined to enlarge his section "On the causes why men write nonsense without knowing it," by illustrations from this worthy Frenchman, and others of the same school, English and American. Meantime, it is pleasant to observe the decorous and respectful manner of M. Chenevière's reply. His tone is such as becomes the gentleman, the scholar, and the Christian;—a circumstance which has struck us the more pleasantly, because we have been called to the perusal of writers on the Catholic question in this country, who appear to have thought themselves absolved from all obligations of propriety and decency in the conduct of the controversy; who have outraged the rules of good breeding and the ordinary courtesies of society; and have appeared to think that their being champions for the truth was an apology for any degree of vulgarity, buffoonery, and personal abuse. We do not mean to say, that the writers on the Protestant side only have been guilty of this indecency; the advocates of the Pope have not been behind them. The combatants in this respect have been equally matched. But we could excuse it in the adversary;—we cannot excuse it in our friends. Protestantism should wield purer weapons; her armour should be the armour of light; her champions should be like the angel, who brings no railing accusation; and every man who disgraces the holy cause by foul speech and intemperate vituperation, who loves better to exasperate than to conciliate, to throw dirt than to argue, should be treated as a traitor to the cause he has espoused, and receive the unqualified rebuke of the Christian community.

M. Chenevière passes next to an examination of the ground taken by the "Catholico-Protestants,"—members of the Reformed Church who oppose the exercise of reason and the right of free inquiry; who substitute confessions of faith for canons of councils, and the opinions and commentaries of the Reformers for the *dicta* of the Pope; and who

refuse the name of brethren and Christians to those, who, in the conscientious use of their acknowledged rights, have arrived at results different from theirs. We do not pretend to follow him through his able discussion of this subject. The general ground is familiar to our readers, and we have no hope of affecting the minds of those who have chosen to act upon different views. Let them go on. Their number is becoming smaller every day. The desertions from their ranks become fearfully numerous. Let those who still cling to the antiquated position remember, also, that every day, the number is increasing of those who deride and reject the religion of Christ on their account. They give cause to more and more, as the light of the world advances, to join in the sarcastic irony of Montaigne:—"Christians have only to meet a thing incredible, to find an occasion for believing; the more opposed it is to human reason, the more reasonable it is; if it were according to reason it would not be a miracle, and if it were agreeable to experience it would not be wonderful."

In his third section, our author states the opposite consequences of the two principles in question, and, in the fourth, illustrates them by examples. All this is very striking and fine; it cannot be read without giving new conviction to the mind of the truth of the remark which closes the chapter:—"It is unnecessary to multiply examples. We see into what excesses men run, when they separate reason from faith; and I may confidently assert, that whenever they tread reason under foot, they fight against the Gospel, they raise up adversaries to Christianity, and inflict upon it lasting injury." Yet he has too much good sense and love of truth to allow himself in any extreme statement on the subject, or to be unaware of the dangers which may result from an abuse of the principle he advocates. He sees, that, while some have despised human reason, others have deified it. He maintains that a sober and devout mind will do neither; and therefore proceeds, by way of conclusion, to lay down the rules which are to be regarded, and by attention to which the serious inquirer may walk in that safe middle path which conducts to truth, supported on the one hand by Reason and on the other by Faith, and taking counsel of neither without the consent of the other.

Having treated of the rights of reason in ascertaining what

are the truths of revelation, it was natural to proceed next to the inquiry, whether these rights belong to every individual, or whether only to the superiors of the church, — that is, whether the leaders among Christians have a right to require of the Christian body in general, that it receive their interpretation of the word instead of interpreting it for themselves. This inquiry is the subject of the Fourth Essay. It is conducted with great spirit and thoroughness, and with much valuable illustration from ecclesiastical history; — which, indeed, is characteristic of the writings of this author, who draws copiously at all times from the experience of former ages, and is an example to prove how much aid may be given to the cause of truth and wisdom by a familiar application of the lessons which are contained in the uninviting records of the disputes and councils, the oppressions and sufferings, the dogmatism and fanaticism, of ambitious and corrupt ages. It is a study to most men repulsive and wearisome; but it has uses that would amply repay the toil and recompense the disgust. "Like the toad, ugly and venomous," it "wears yet a precious jewel in its head." M. Chenevière is one of those who understand its value.

The Essay is divided into two parts. The first contains an examination of *the arguments which are adduced in favor of creeds and confessions of faith;* the second, a statement of *the reasons which are urged against them.*

The arguments in defence of creeds are taken from writers of both the Catholic and the Protestant church; for, strange as it may seem, they are here found occupying common ground, — the Protestant fighting in behalf of the very principle, by the denial of which his separation from Rome is alone to be justified! Sufficient proof of itself, we might say, that the doctrine of subscription is false as well as mischievous. The particular authors from whom this "Catholico-Protestant" argument is taken in the present case, are, the Abbé de La Mennais, of whom we have already spoken, and Cellérier the elder, and Gaussen, distinguished ministers of Geneva. The former of these has been long celebrated as a fine and persuasive preacher. He is father to the present accomplished professor of that name, to a beautiful work of whose we hope to call attention in our next number. The latter has been recently well known from the part he has taken in opposition to the Company of the Pastors, and in the

foundation of a new Theological Seminary designed to resuscitate the extinguished faith of Calvin, and restore the sway of his iron sceptre over Geneva. These two divines, as editors of a new edition of the Helvetic Confession, published a preface, in which they undertook to defend the imposition of articles of faith; and it is principally the points of their defence which are scrutinized and answered in the first part of the present work.

The first plea is, that "a confession of faith is only the expression, not the rule, of faith; an exposition of the sense in which Scripture is understood by a certain community, but not designed as a substitute for it." To this the reply is obvious, that the question properly regards not the design, but the fact; and whatever may be said of the design, the fact unquestionably is and must be, that where subscription to articles is required, they come to be substituted in the place of the Scriptures; that is, they, and not the Bible, are the authority to which appeal is made. And accordingly it is familiarly said, that assent to the Bible is nugatory, because it is necessary to know in what sense the Bible is understood. Is it in the sense of our creed? If not, it is nought. Now what is this, in the view of plain common sense, but a substitution of the creed for the Scriptures? Is it not making the creed the standard? Indeed, do we not hear them constantly styled "THE STANDARDS of our church"?

Again it is pleaded, that "confessions are necessary to secure unity of faith." This sounds so like mockery, that we can hardly conceive how it should be uttered except as a bitter jest. That in the face of the divisions and contentions which have always existed and do exist in those communities which have had most to do with articles and subscriptions; that amidst the clamorous controversies, which tore the unity of the Romish church, even within sight of the wholesome arguments of the Inquisition; which at this very day rend the blessed concord which forty articles save one have guarantied to the Episcopal church; which divide the Presbyterians, though their confessions are backed by catechisms; which even disturb the repose of our Orthodox theological seminaries, arraying professor against professor, and journal against journal, and epistle against epistle; — that in the face of all this, a man can stand up and keep his coun-

tenance when advocating the efficiency of creeds to ensure uniformity of faith, is a thing at once so enormous and so ridiculous, that we should be disposed to pass it by without remark as containing its own refutation. Our author, however, not satisfied with this, examines the pretension at some length, alleging, that, from the very nature of the case, uniformity is impossible, while history shows that every attempt to enforce it has been vain.

The next plea is, that "confessions tend to prevent and put an end to disputes." To which, besides other considerations like those above adverted to, our author makes the conclusive reply, that history every where testifies, that the pretence to decide on questions of faith by majorities, and the confessions of faith which have been the consequence of that extravagant pretence, have been the very cause of the greater part of the disputes, the wars, and the misfortunes, which have desolated the Christian church. The church of Geneva, he adds, enjoyed peace for a hundred years, that is to say, from the moment that it abolished its confessions of faith; and this peace was broken from the moment that men chose to go back and raise up again the standards which had been thrown down, and which, amongst Protestants, can never be any thing else than signals of contention.

Again it is said, that "confessions of faith are necessary as guides in religious instruction." Undoubtedly such a digest as may be contained in a catechism, or some other elementary form, is extremely convenient as a guide in teaching, and may be used to great advantage; but it certainly is not necessary; and it does not at all follow, that its imposition as a condition of church privilege is advisable. In the former case, it simply directs the order and succession of topics, while the teacher and his pupils are at liberty to examine the opinions advanced, and receive or reject them, as they shall find reason. In the latter, they are compelled to receive them, whether they find reason or not. If certain writers would allow themselves to perceive this distinction, they would be less eager to throw the charge of inconsistency on the liberal Christians at Geneva and elsewhere for framing and using compends of faith and duty. There is all the difference in the world between employing them as guides in the arrangement and expression of religious truths, and requiring them to be received as conditions of Christian standing.

One further plea is, that "confessions of faith are necessary to enable the church to give account of its belief, as St. Peter directs, and to remove the calumnies which may be uttered against it." But what has this to do with the requiring subscription to articles? Certainly the doctors of a church can tell what they teach, without having been bound by a public formulary. The Unitarians, for example, have never found any difficulty in "giving an account of their belief," though they subscribe no creed; and if it be objected, that the leaders are found to differ amongst themselves, — we reply, so much the better; they thus express the honest convictions of their minds, not fettered, as others are, by the necessity of continuing to seem to conform in all points to a public symbol when in some points they differ from it. And as for avoiding calumny by means of an acknowledged standard of faith, what calumny is avoided? Do the creeds of the Protestants shelter them against the Catholics? or the articles of the English Church from the assault of the Presbyterian? or the quinquennial creed of Andover from the suspicions of the true Calvinists? The truth is, that every creed thus set up is a flag of defiance, and the church or institution which hangs it out, like an armed ship in time of war, provokes attack, and, instead of avoiding, invites the onset.

When one thus brings together the arguments by which its friends support this system of doctrinal formularies by which Christianity has in all ages been fettered and disgraced, he is amazed to perceive how little plausible they are; and is inclined to wonder at that strength of prejudice and love of domination which can keep men blind to obvious inconsistencies and palpable mischiefs, for the sake of a visionary good. He is still more amazed, when he goes one step further, and observes the overwhelming power of the considerations by which the opposite position is sustained.

These are stated in the second part of the present Essay under six particulars. 1. The Apostles neither required, nor have they left on record, any such formularies. An examination of the New Testament proves, that nothing more was demanded of disciples, than an assent to the Messiahship of Jesus, which is a thing wholly distinct from a requisition to profess belief in abstract doctrines. The "Apostle's

Creed," as it is called, was not even made by the Apostles, as is well known, much less imposed by them on the Churches. — 2. Confessions of faith were not known to the primitive church. The earliest ecclesiastical writers, — Ignatius, Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr, — have transmitted no symbol as used in their time; it is only incidentally that they speak of certain articles of faith. It was not until some time in the third century that confessions began to come into use, — at a time, that is, when the church had departed from the purity of the Apostolic days, was falling more and more deeply into error, and had ceased to be such that we may regard it as a model for imitation in after ages. — 3. When we come down to the Reformers, we find that in principle they were opposed to confessions, though they were led by circumstances to adopt them. In the preface to the Vaudese confession it was written, "There is no man, no body of men, no assembly, no authority whatever, which has the right to meddle with the belief of any man whatever, to prescribe to him articles of faith, or to call him to account for those which he has adopted." The circumstances which led the Reformers, notwithstanding, to imitate the Catholics in the imposition of creeds, are explained at length by Chenevière, and afford only another instance of the evils which arise from an implication of the affairs of religion with those of politics.

4. Confessions of faith are opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and to the principles and spirit of the Protestant Reformation. To prove this, if there were no further evidence, it were enough to cite the oath taken by the Deputies at the Synod of Dort, and afterward imposed on the ministers in France. It embodies in brief the whole spirit of the doctrine of imposition. "I swear and protest before God and this holy assembly, that I believe, approve, and embrace all the doctrine taught and determined by the Synod of Dort, as entirely conformable to the word of God and the confession of our churches. I swear and promise *to persevere during my life* in the profession of this doctrine, to defend it to the utmost of my ability, and never to depart from it, either in my preaching, my instructions, or my writings." If this be Protestantism, we say, give us Catholicism. That at least has the praise of consistency; and we are very much of our author's opinion, that Catholicism with the Pope, is,

in one point of view at least, preferable to Protestantism with confessions of faith imposed by authority. Where there is a living Pope, there may be improvement; but these unchangeable symbols are dead popes, admitting of neither life nor progress. Consequently within three hundred years the Catholic church has made great advancement; but Calvinism is stationary. If you say that Calvinists have improved,—we allow it; but it is only by departing from and modifying their creed. The creed is the same; and the few who cling to it, in its entire letter and full spirit, are just where their fathers of the sixteenth century were. "It might seem that they had gone to sleep in 1535, and had suddenly waked up in perfect preservation in 1831."

5. Examine these creeds and confessions, observe what they contain, remark under what circumstances and in what manner they were composed, and a strong argument arises against them. They have been the offspring of an excited, sometimes an exasperated, and frequently a very small majority, triumphing over an opposite party after a warm and perhaps malignant controversy; not likely therefore to state in sober terms the exact truth. They are greatly wanting in simplicity and in clearness, and they are not without instances of notable and palpable contradictions; — little suited, therefore, to be expressions of a perpetual faith. These points are illustrated and verified by many curious facts relative to the celebrated symbols of various ages and churches. — 6. The ill consequences which have resulted from them is a further argument against them. They are deceptive in their very nature, it being impossible that they should express precisely the faith in all points even of the persons who frame, much less of all who sign them. They injure charity, they promote the growth of infidelity, they encourage hypocrisy. These and other similar evils are illustrated by citations from the history of the church.

In the concluding section, M. Chenevière is led to make an explanation respecting those occurrences in the Genevan church, which have been represented by its enemies as inconsistent with the principles here adopted. As this passage sets in a clear and satisfactory view a very important chapter in the modern history of religion, we present it to our readers entire.

"It has been recently maintained, that a national church

cannot exist without articles of faith, nor the Presbyterian system be sustained without them. This is an assertion in the face of facts; it is denying motion in the presence of one who walks. The national church of Neuchâtel has no confession. The church of Geneva exists,—to the great displeasure of those who for fifteen years have done all they could to undermine and destroy it. It has existed without confessions of faith for more than a century. Previous to the year 1706, its teachers made an engagement to believe and teach all that was contained in the Helvetic formulary and the confessions of faith; — at that period, they engaged only not to contradict them in their preaching. This was a great step, since, notwithstanding the shackles, the conscience was left free.* At length, in 1725, the Company of the Pastors, in concurrence with the Council of State, ordained, that nothing more be prescribed to candidates than this truly Christian rule: 'You promise to maintain the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, as contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, of which we have a summary in our catechism.' It was made the duty of the Moderator to exhort the subscribers to avoid in their preaching such subjects as were useless, or merely curious, or likely to disturb the peace.

"The Company were led to take this step by the dissatisfaction which the churches, and especially the Lutherans, had expressed, with the Helvetic articles,—the reluctance of many candidates to bind themselves for ever on points which they had not thoroughly investigated, — the agreeableness of this new form of subscription with the spirit of the Reformation — and the lessons of experience, which could not be lost on so enlightened a body. Notwithstanding that it has been denied within a few years in the pages of the *Archives du Christianisme*, it is yet true, that the Council of State did concur with the Company in this act. We have proof of it in our records. Thus Geneva was the first to return to liberty of conscience; she put restraints upon intolerance; she showed herself superior to the notions which are still too generally received. Truth advances at a slow pace; but it advances, and it gains dominion

* After the year 1706 these subscriptions were not required. "This is not the only particular," said Le Clerc, "in which the magistracy and clergy of Geneva at the present day hold forth a praiseworthy example to other Protestants,—and show that they know how to follow the true principles of the Reformation and the genius of the gospel, after attaining to a better understanding of them than they possessed when they had not wholly rid themselves of the spirit of Rome. Happy they who can say thus much!" *Biblioth. Rais.* tom. vii. p. 84.

at last. This very year, the church of Zurich has renounced all articles of faith drawn up by men, and appeals to the Gospel as the only infallible rule. Let us hope that all churches will finally adopt our principles, and reject those deceitful lights which mislead instead of guiding.

"An attempt has been made to show, that the leaders of the Genevan church have been guilty of self-contradiction; they have been reproached with the prohibitory regulation which they imposed on the preachers throughout the Canton in 1817. You have fallen into the same inconsistencies, it has been said, with which you reproach confessions and creeds; your regulations are vexatious, and you intrude upon the liberty of which you profess to be the defenders. But in difficult circumstances, and for a specified, limited purpose, it is certainly possible to introduce prohibitory regulations, without at all violating the principles of the Reformation or of a wise liberty. It is a means of peace to which many churches have had recourse. In 1554 a rule was established in Switzerland forbidding to preach predestination, and suppressing the abusive and anathematizing language common at that time. In 1614 the churches of Holland took the same precaution on the same subject; the synod of Loudun in 1659; the king of England in 1621. In the eighteenth century the church of Neuchâtel took the same step on occasion of the violent disputes which had arisen on the question of the eternity of punishment. Geneva, in 1817, simply forbade one sort of discussion in the pulpit, and the preaching, in a disputative style, on the doctrines of the trinity, the imputation of Adam's sin, and predestination.

"The difference is very plain between these regulations and confessions of faith. They say nothing of believing or not believing. They leave the conscience in possession of all its rights. They simply require, that, in a season of agitation, men shall conduct themselves prudently; not demanding of them to teach respecting any subject in a manner opposed to their own way of viewing it, but simply not to bring forward in the pulpit all their opinions, and to maintain always a peaceful and inoffensive manner. In all other respects, they may preach, write, teach, just as they please; and experience has shown, that, under the operation of this rule, the government of the church has constrained no one in the free and frank expression of his doctrinal opinions and principles. These regulations are temporary, not permanent; matters of discipline, not of faith; the liberty of the preacher is in some degree abridged by them, and that is an evil; but it is a sacrifice for the sake of peace, a less evil than contention, and one which can offend no

one's conscientious convictions, because it allows to all the free expression of their thoughts. Where a Protestant church permits such a restraint for a time, it does nothing in contradiction to its own principles. The restraint ceases with the occasion, and as soon as peace is restored. No subscription is required, no test, no oath; it is a precautionary measure of the ecclesiastical government, with a view to the avoidance of trouble,—just as the civil government which is most strongly attached to liberty makes a temporary inroad upon it, when it forbids the people to approach places infected with contagious disease, and to receive thence articles of living, to be deprived of which may be an injury to many; but such inconveniences are not to be regarded in the comparison with the fatal evils which would result to the community from the absence of all inspection and restraint." —pp. 115–118.

This is undoubtedly to be regarded as a satisfactory explanation and defence of the measures alluded to. If once the idea of a national church be admitted, it is not easy to imagine the ground on which objection to them can be consistently raised. There is in them no intolerance, or despotism, or shackling of conscience; nothing but the exercise of the church police. Whether wise and discreet, is another question; but no one would have dreamed of calling it oppressive, except he had an end to answer by so doing. At the same time, it would have better suited our notions of what is both expedient and right, if there had been no exertion of this power of the church in the case, if absolute and unlimited liberty had been allowed, to speculate and preach, even at the hazard of the public peace. To be sure, this would hardly have comported with the dignity of an establishment; but when so much of what is substantial had been surrendered to liberty and conscience; when, like sincere, honest, fearless followers of Christ, they had set all consciences and souls free, because

> "Consciences and souls were made
> To be the Lord's alone;"—

why should they have hesitated to permit the public disputations, evil though they might seem, which are the inevitable consequences of that freedom? Being a Presbyterian church, they clung to their authority in matters of discipline after surrendering their authority in matters of faith. This perhaps was natural; but we think it would have been happier

if they could have perceived that both must fall together. But then they would have ceased to be a Presbyterian Church.

ART. II. *A Manual for the Afflicted: comprising a practical Essay on Affliction, and a Series of Meditations and Prayers, selected and arranged for the use of those who are in Sorrow, Trouble, Need, Sickness, or any other Adversity.* By the Rev. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B. D. of Saint John's College, Cambridge. *With an Introduction, and an Appendix of Devotional Poetry,* by the Right Rev. GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE, Bishop of New Jersey. Boston: Allen & Ticknor. 1833. 12mo. pp. xx. 252, 31.

IF we believed and loved, not only the Scriptures, but certain doctrines, called orthodox, which some have deduced from the Scriptures, we should commend this book heartily and entirely; for it is peculiarly rich in consolations, counsels, and devotions drawn from the great Scriptural storehouse. But as it often departs from the Scriptures, or misinterprets them, to introduce sentiments and petitions in which we cannot conscientiously join, our commendation cannot be hearty nor entire. We will say freely of it, that we are acquainted with no other volume of devotion so replete with appropriate selections of Scripture, and which, on this point, would be so satisfactory to the afflicted. We therefore regret that its general usefulness is impaired in the manner which we have already stated.

The book, as its title imports, consists of two main parts; the first being an essay on affliction, and the second a collection of meditations, prayers, and passages from the Bible. The first part is introduced by the following beautiful motto.

> "The path of sorrow, and that path alone,
> Leads to the land where sorrow is unknown:
> No traveller e'er reached that blest abode,
> Who found not thorns and briars on the road."

The subject of afflictions, as dispensations of Providence, is discussed in three chapters. The first of these treats of the doctrine of Scripture concerning the origin and design

of afflictions; — the second, of the best preparation for afflictions, and our improvement of them, and our duty on being delivered from them; — and the third, of the privilege and duty of prayer, especially in seasons of affliction. From the first section of this third chapter, we will select an extract, to illustrate the Scriptural character which generally prevails throughout the essay. It will also give a glimpse of some of its defects.

"Reader! art thou desirous of the KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH? — PRAY. So did David; 'O! send out Thy light and Thy truth: let them lead me. In Thy light shall we see light.' Psal. xliii. 3. xxxvi. 9. The only channel (an apostle teaches us), by which we can obtain this light from God, is PRAYER. 'If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, and it shall be given to him.' James i. 5.

"Dost thou want more FAITH? — PRAY. The Scripture teaches us that 'faith is the gift of God;' and the apostles of our Redeemer have shown us by their example, that, in order that we may be enriched with this precious treasure, it must be sought by prayer. 'Lord!' said they, 'increase our faith.' xvii. 5.

"Dost thou feel the necessity of a CHANGE OF HEART? — PRAY. So did holy David, who earnestly supplicated God for this grace. 'Create in me a CLEAN HEART, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.' Psal. li. 10.

"Dost thou need STRENGTH lest thou shouldest be weary of well-doing? — PRAY. So did Paul, the apostle of Jesus Christ. He besought the Lord to grant the believers at Colossæ that strength, which no man can find in himself. 'We do not cease,' said he, 'to *pray* for you, that ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God.' Col. i. 9, 10.

"IS THY SOUL CAST DOWN within thee? — PRAY. So did David, 'the sweet psalmist of Israel, by whom the Spirit of the Lord spake.' 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, 2. 'The sorrows of hell compassed me about: the snares of death prevented me. In my distress I called upon the LORD, and cried unto my God: O Lord! I beseech Thee, deliver my soul. He heard my voice out of his temple, and my cry came before him.' Psal. xviii. 5, 6, cxvi. 3, 4. And a greater than David — Jesus Christ — 'in the days of his flesh offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared.' Heb. v. 7.

"'Art thou CAST DOWN UPON THY SICK BED? Call for the elders of the Church, and let them PRAY. James v. 14. This was Hezekiah's recipe, when he was 'sick unto death; He turned his face to the wall, and PRAYED.' 2 Kings xx. 1, 2. This was David's recipe: 'Have mercy on me, O LORD, for I am weak. O LORD, heal me: for my bones are vexed.' Psal. vi. 2.

"'Art thou infested with importunate TEMPTATIONS? — PRAY. So did St. Paul, when the messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. 'Thrice I besought the Lord, that it might depart from me.' 2 Cor. xii. 8. So did David. 'While I suffer thy terrors I am distracted. Thy fierce wrath goeth over me. But unto Thee have I cried, O LORD; and in the morning shall my prayer prevent Thee.' Psal. lxxxviii. 15, 16. v. 13.

"'Art thou afflicted with the SLANDERS OF EVIL TONGUES? — PRAY. So did David. 'The mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me: they have spoken against me with a lying tongue. — Hold not Thy peace, O God of my praise.' Psal. cix. 2, 1.

"'Art thou distressed with *poverty?* — PRAY. So did David. 'I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me. Help me, O LORD my God, according to thy mercy.' Psal. cix. 22, 26.

"'Art thou bereaved of thy BODILY SENSES? — Make thy address to him that said, 'Who hath made man's mouth, or who maketh the dumb, and the deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? Have not I, the Lord?' Exod. iv. 11. Cry aloud to him with Bartimæus — 'Lord! that I may receive my sight.' Matt. x. 47, 51. And if thou be hopeless of thine outward sight, yet pray with the Psalmist — 'O LORD! open thou mine eyes that I may see the wondrous things of thy law.' Psal. cxix. 18.

"Dost thou droop under the grievances of *old age?* — PRAY. So did David. 'O! cast me not off in the time of old age: forsake me not when my strength faileth. O God! Thou hast taught me from my youth; now also, when I am old and grey-headed, O God, forsake me not.' Psal. lxxi. 9. 17, 18.

"'Art thou troubled with the FEARS OF DEATH? — PRAY. So did David. 'My soul is full of trouble, and my life draweth nigh unto the grave. I am counted with them that go down into the pit. I am as a man that hath no strength. Free among the dead, thou hast laid me in the lowest pit, in darkness, in the deeps. But unto Thee have I cried, O Lord: and in the morning shall my prayer prevent Thee.' Psal. lxxxviii. 3 — 6, 13.

"Dost thou tremble at the thought of JUDGMENT? — So did the man after God's own heart. 'My flesh trembleth for fear of Thee, and I am afraid of Thy judgments.' Psal. cxix. 20. Look up, with Jeremiah, and say to thy Saviour — 'O Lord! Thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul; thou hast redeemed my life; O Lord, judge Thou my cause.' Lam. iii. 58, 59.

"'Art thou afraid of the power, malice, subtlety of thy SPIRITUAL ENEMIES? — PRAY. So did David. 'Deliver me from mine enemies, O my God; save me from them that rise up against me.' Psal. lix. 1. 'O hide me from the secret counsel of the wicked.' Psal. lxiv. 2. 'Consider mine enemies: for they are many, and they hate me with a cruel hatred. O keep my soul, and deliver me.' Psal. xxv. 19, 20. So did St. Paul pray that he might be freed from the messenger of Satan whose buffets he felt, and was answersd with, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.' 2 Cor. xii. 9. So he sues for all God's Saints — 'May the God of peace tread down Satan under your feet shortly.' Rom. xvi. 20.

"'Whatever evil,' in fine, 'it be that presseth thy soul, have speedy recourse to the throne of grace; pour out thy heart into the ears of "the Father of all mercies and God of all comfort;" and be sure, if not of redress, yet of ease. We have His word for it, that cannot fail us: "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee; and thou shalt glorify me." – Psal. l. 15.'* "— pp. 59 – 63.

The second part comprises four chapters, the first of which contains devotions for those who are "afflicted in mind"; — the second, devotions for those who are "afflicted in body"; — the third, devotions for those who are "afflicted in estate";—and the fourth, "thanksgivings for deliverance from affliction." In this, as well as in the first part, Mr. Horne makes a free use of the compositons of others. The prayers are principally selected from the English Liturgy, and from the devotional writings of the earlier English divines. And it is against this part of the volume that we take the most exception. Not only are doubtful doctrines introduced into these prayers, but the Scriptural rule of addressing our petitions to God through and in the name of Jesus Christ, is repeatedly transgressed, and prayer is made to Jesus as to Almighty God. If it were so in an instance or two we should not mind it, but we cannot approve of a

* Bishop Hall's Balm of Gilead, chap. xviii.

book of devotion, in which our feelings regarding the proper object of supreme religious homage are so frequently shocked.

While on this subject we would notice another particular, which we cannot regard, at this day, but as a poor affectation. We mean the use of the name *Jesu*, in invocation, instead of *Jesus*. This is retained from the Latin formularies, in which the vocative form of the word is all right and proper; but what is right and proper in Latin is not so in English, simply because it is not English. We do not doubt that there are many worthy people who think there is something uncommonly pious and mysterious in saying *Jesu Christ* rather than *Jesus Christ*. Let all such be informed, that there is no piety and no mystery in the matter, but only a sin against the modern and correct usage of their own mother tongue. We know that Jeremy Taylor and other writers of former days employed this form, but we nevertheless assert that to retain it now is a mere affectation. At least let some consistency be preserved, and not one prayer begin, as on page 218, "O Lord Jesu Christ," while the very next begins "O Lord Jesus Christ."

The poetry of the Appendix, consisting of thirty-six hymns, is selected by the American editor with taste. Among them is the following, by Mrs. Sigourney, which we have often read before, and always with emotion. The last verse is fine.

"BLESSED ARE THE DEAD.

"They dread no storm that lowers,
No perished joys bewail,
They pluck no thorn-clad flowers,
Nor drink of streams that fail;
There is no tear-drop in their eye,
Nor change upon their brow,
The placid bosom heaves no sigh,
Though all earth's idols bow.

"Who are so greatly blessed?
From whom hath sorrow fled?
Who find such deep unbroken rest
While all things toil? — The dead!

The holy dead! — Why weep ye so
Above their sable bier?
Thrice blessed! they have done with woe,
The living claim the tear.

"Go to their sleeping bowers,
Deck their lone couch of clay
With early Spring's uncolored flowers,
And, when they fade away,
Think of the amaranthine wreath,
The bright bowers never dim,
And tell me why thou fliest from Death,
Or hid'st thy friends from him?

"We dream, but they awake;
Dark visions mar our rest;
'Mid thorns and snares our way we take,—
And yet we mourn the blessed.
For those who throng the eternal throne,
Lost are the tears we shed:
They are the living, they alone,
Whom thus we call the dead." — p. 25

[For the Christian Examiner.]

Art. III. *Seduction.*

It has been justly observed in a late valuable little book, that "people are at last beginning to awake and to inquire;" not only into the physical, but moral and intellectual nature of man. If the impulse goes on, and it will go on, gross vices, at least, must soon hide their diminished heads.

Intemperance is already obliged to skulk into corners and hide in caverns. Let the friends of human-kind begin to pursue as earnestly the hydra monster *Seduction*, and the conquest of the other will be certain. Is it not well-known that seduction leads thousands to intemperance? The betrayed husband, the broken-hearted wife,—the disgraced youth and ruined maiden, alike too fatally prove that it is so.

Will parents who have "named the name of Christ," unresistingly submit to the domination of a vice, which is destroying many of the fairest and most promising youth

of our cities and even villages, because it is admitted into the drawing rooms of the rich and the halls of legislation? Neither wealth nor power will any longer protect from scorn the brutalized drunkard. Ought they to protect the seducer? Shall the pure and high-minded be obliged to dwell in close neighbourhood with panders of gross crime, and daily see youth, manhood, and old age drawn into the vortex prepared by these pests of society, and not be allowed to publish their infamy, because they are secretly upheld by wealth and influence?

"Delicacy forbids," says one; "Common decency excludes the discussion of this vice from our public lectures, our journals, our news-papers," says another; "People and nations, from time immemorial, have submitted to its existence," says a third; and, — for the truth must be told, — a fourth will tell you, that "panders and brothels are *necessary evils* and cannot be removed."

More than forty years have we watched, and with increasing dread, the growing prevalence of seduction in our country, and recently meeting with a paper, printed in a sister state,* we hailed it as the announcer of a new era in public opinion. We hope the time has come, when real delicacy will fill every heart, when woman will rise in true dignity to banish the specious villain from the circles of beauty and fashion; when every mother shall be roused to the religious duty of guarding the moral purity of her daughters.

It is remarked by a late writer, that the French people sin with more circumspection than the English, and have the art of making gross vice less disgusting by veiling it with a mantle, wrought by the Graces; but are they less criminal in the sight of God, than the most vulgar sinner in creation? We may studiously avoid comments on the sin of seduction, we may live in the near neighbourhood of a brothel and *seem* not to know it, we may see the youthful victim lured into this *hell*, we may see a man in his meridian power perish there, we may see the gray-headed sinner hobble to the yawning gulph and sink there, and from *delicacy* avoid all notice of the moral ruin before us, — or fearfully whisper the horror that we must feel; but are we guiltless, when we do thus? Is it not too great a sacrifice to false delicacy?

* McDougal's Gazette, published in New York.

We know absolutely nothing about the Editor of the paper above alluded to, and which was the immediate cause of our bringing before the public, views and opinions, which have extended and gathered strength every year of our matured existence; but we wish him "God speed." He is laying open the hiding-places of pollution; and though he may do it with an unskilful hand, we honor him for his high motives and moral courage.

Ours pretends to be a moral and religious community, and, comparatively, it is so. We feel strong sympathies with the good and great. Our hearts burn within us, when we hear of the simultaneous movements throughout Christendom for moral and religious purposes,— of societies for benevolent effort, for promoting peace, for teaching the blind and the dumb, for missionary labors, for extending the blessing of education to every son and daughter of the land. Yet it becomes us to "watch and pray," to keep guards in readiness and sentinels on duty, or vice, subtle, destructive vice, will creep into our very bosom.

Are not our American youth, for of foreigners we will not speak, often seen on our Sabbaths staggering home from the *licensed* dram-shop,—or wending their way, with reckless oaths and shameless bravadoes to the tolerated brothels, which are suffered to exist in the very heart of our cities and villages? Nor do our youth alone follow the path which leads to destruction. Our rulers, our lawgivers, our men of power and influence mingle with the multitude on this road to infamy and moral ruin. But when such ones are seen in the throng, the whispered detail of the fact is silenced by "Oh, such names must not be held up for scorn to point at. They are men of property and influence; it will be unpopular to expose them,— their great connexions must be considered." Should this be so? Are we to tolerate vicious conduct at our very thresholds because the sinner is a great or a rich man?

Boston is justly renowned for its moral elevation. Many, very many of its citizens are an honor to human nature; but monstrous abuses exist even here, in this emporium of literary taste and high moral and religious principle. Licensed dram-shops and tolerated houses, of a kind calculated to facilitate vices of the grossest nature, are plague-spots upon the fair fame of our noble city.

It is asserted by an eminent writer, that there is no man, who, in a case where he was a calm bystander, would not look with more satisfaction on acts of kindness, than on acts of cruelty. Is not this equally true of all moral action? Does not the pure and high-minded command the homage of every looker-on, for the time being, let his own individual character be what it may? We believe so; and since we feel sure, that the human race are the children of one Parent, that *God* breathed into them all the breath of life, we are as sure that vice may be rendered abhorrent to every son and daughter of Christendom. If public opinion strongly and steadily opposes the advance of sensual and debasing vices, their progress will be checked, their destruction must ensue. Let us not then admit for a moment, that seduction is a necessary evil. Pleasures derived from low objects and degrading vices find no quiet resting-place in the mind of man; — at their approach all is tumult. They are usurpers, and deadly warfare commences and continues till they are driven from the invaded territory. Look at the face of a consistently good man, and mark the peace that reigns there; — then cast your eye on the man of lawless appetite, of low pursuits; — how striking the contrast! Does it not prove, that man is doing violence to the nature God has given him, when he admits vice to usurp the powers of the immortal mind? If so, we certainly wrong those powers, given by Almighty Love, by which to form our characters, when we despair of reclaiming a fallen creature and bringing him back to a true sense of his high and holy destiny.

Time has been, and nations have existed, in which men gloried in crime, — when to sit at the convivial board and drink till the subtle poison almost destroyed the life within was honorable, when profligacy was in fashion, and the "bravest man he that made himself the veriest beast;" but now, in this nation, reason, religion, purity all cry, Shame on such brutality. The fact indicates some progress in virtue, that men now *resent* being accused of crime. And shall so many fear losing popularity by arraigning the conduct of the occupants of the high places of society? Our duty demands, that we carefully note the amount of obligation devolving on a Christian community. We are not in heathen darkness. The sun of righeousness has risen high on our meridian. We *know* our duty. The

law of God is written on tables of stone, and "he who runs may read." Can we then tolerate gross vice and suffer it to dwell unmolested even at the doors of our holy temples, and be blameless? The brandy-drinker is shunned and despised: so let it be with the betrayer of innocence, the seducer, the vile procuress. Let every virtuous woman turn with abhorrence from the heartless profligate. Let no brilliancy of talent, no literary fame, no vast possessions of wealth or of honor conceal from her eye, or protect from her contempt, the wretch, who enters a worthy family and leaves it not, till some victim falls a prey to his designs, and broken hearts, or maniac despair, are the dreadful trophies of his villany. Let the young man, who boasts of his dissolute habits, be no longer styled by the gay leaders of fashionable life — "a dear, wicked, fascinating creature"; but let him be banished from circles where purity alone should breathe in the surrounding atmosphere. Let this be done, and profligacy will be driven from us, far sooner than it could be by the united powers of the gallows and the penitentiary.

We have the power of becoming a holy and a virtuous people. In the name of all that is pure and excellent, let us use this power; and, to use it effectually, every respectable member of the community must feel his or her individual aid and example of vast importance. It is painful to see sensible and respected women treat this evil, of which we complain, lightly. We have heard such say, "We must take the world as we find it,— we must not expect too much of human nature,— perfection is not to be hoped for. If our daughters can marry men of good standing in society, we must be content, and not inquire too closely into characters." Better, far better, lovely daughters of America, that ye never wed, than that ye yield your pure affections to the polluted wretch, who deserves the names of libertine and seducer. A broken heart, a premature grave, or utter moral degradation is the consequence of the monstrous union of purity with impurity.

In the comparatively small sphere in which we move, enough has occured to rouse every power within us to vigorous effort, to waken public attention to the enormities of seduction. It is said that "to the pure all things are pure"; but, like other sayings, its meaning is vague. Does it mean

that a pure mind cannot conceive of vice? It cannot, if it would, refrain from seeing it. The purest mind must see and be revolted at gross crime. We hope we deserve to be called pure, in some good degree; but to us it did not seem pure for a polished man of literary eminence, to enter the sanctuary of sleeping innocence, of absolute childhood, for the basest purposes. We did see it, however, and though more than forty years have since passed by, we recollect with almost incredible vividness the shudder of terror and disgust which then shook our infant frame. We have traced the career of that man. He seduced the woman, whose children he would have corrupted, caused the self-murder of a wife and mother, and afterwards married the daughter of his victim. He is dead, and the horrors of his mind, during a lingering disease, were the dreadful fruits of sin; but not of disgrace, for this man always had a *good standing in society.*

We once knew a clergyman, who took under his protection a lovely orphan-girl, whom an anxious mother intrusted to her pastor with almost as perfect confidence as she would to her Maker. He instructed her; — she grew up to womanhood and fell a victim to the seduction of her teacher, her minister, her guardian! She died,— her infant died,— her mother became a maniac,— the clergyman's wife died of a broken heart,— yet this man was restored, after confessing his guilt, to his station, became a teacher of youth, and again occupied the sacred desk. He is now dead.

We hope we are not unforgiving; but we honestly believe, that a distinction should be established between virtue and vice. The seducer and murderer may repent, and we would forgive them, — encourage them, support them; but we would not restore them to their rank in that society, the fundamental laws of which they had long and deliberately violated. Conscious of our own liability to err, we would not be uncharitable, nor would we require more of human nature that it can perform. But let us ask, if human nature has not been unjustly slandered. Has not God given us minds capable of choosing between good and evil? Else where is our moral freedom? "That liberty," says a writer of eminent abilities, "which is found in mechanical freedom, is nothing more than a lever suspended in mid-air, waiting for a moving power." If then we believe we are free moral

agents, not machines acted upon by foreign influence, have we any excuse for joining in any act we know to be criminal, or for suffering to exist, unmolested, haunts of vice, that would shame the untaught heathen? Can we be justified, because the subject involves remarks from which sensitive delicacy does, and we hope always will, shrink with intuitive disgust, if we let a vice grow and flourish amongst us, till innocence is scarcely safe in a father's arms? Let it not be so. Let us fearlessly unmask the specious villain, draw from her den of infamy the vile procuress, expose to public scorn, alike, the man of wealth, the youthful sinner, the middle-aged voluptuary, and the hoary-headed reprobate.

In a community like ours, where the press teems with books of high moral character, where pulpit instructions are open to all, where the Bible is in every house, where every man, woman, and child can read about their duty or hear it preached in language which cannot be misunderstood, what excuse is there for the prevalence of crime? Is it too much to expect, that, in such a country as this, gross vice should be banished from among us? Absolutely banished; for we would have no hiding-places, no secret haunts. We would not furnish her with a mantle wrought with graceful manner and fine-spun sentiment. We would drive her from us, naked, exposed, abhorred, to go to her own place, to leave our sons and daughters free to seek and to secure the glorious reward, which God has promised to all who love Him.

Are there any among us so miserable as not to have heard of the way to eternal life; any one who has no joys but sensual ones, who believes existence reaches only to a hopeless tomb? We would give to so unfortunate a being our deepest commiseration; — we could hardly blame him, even if he resort to haunts of pollution to revel away the miserable hours which are hurrying him to the abyss of annihilation. It is the *nominal* Christian, the learned voluptuary, the rich and influential seducer and profligate, that we would have exposed to deserved obloquy. It is the wretch, who, knowing his duty, lurks like the deadly serpent in the pathway of our blooming daughters and unguarded sons, that we would draw into open day, and drive for ever from our shores.

Vice is rarely the offspring of ignorance. Even the boldest villain is not without a conscience, and chooses the

midnight hour for perpetrating crime. The most hardened blush in the presence of virtue, shrink from public gaze, and like beasts of prey, hide from the noon-day sun, and recoil at the reproof of the wise and good. If it be so, there is always hope of amendment. Let the current of public opinion set strongly against them, and they will stop in their career and inquire why it is so. This has happened in relation to intemperance, and it will happen, whenever a vice ceases to be fashionable, ceases to be tolerated among the great. Put it out of the power of any member of the community to say, "If I was rich, my guilt would go unpunished," and we shall see that the worth of genuine virtue will be more truly estimated. We once saw a man, who by privateering had suddenly become rich, but whose moral character was infamous, and who was a scoffer and a blasphemer, in a circle of distinguished ladies, flattered and flattering, his attentions accepted, and his smiles reciprocated. While this is done, by those who from talent, character, and influence claim to be leaders in the high places of society, in vain may we hope for reformation; in vain may we state, that God's commands should be the law of Christian communities; in vain may we strive to banish profligacy from our assemblies, our streets, and our fire-sides.

What reasonable plea can be urged in defence of tolerating such characters in society? Will it be urged that shunning them is puritanical; that we must be lenient towards the failings of others; that we all need forgiveness and therefore must forgive; that we must not expect purity in every one; that men of business have little leisure to study the nice distinctions between vice and virtue, right and wrong. Such pleas are utterly sophistical. Our hearts and arms are open to forgive and to receive the repentant prodigal; but when a man, day after day, week after week, and year after year, willingly allows his vitiated habits to prevail over his duties, when he voluntarily plants himself in the gloomy desert of sensuality, and even triumphs in his power to allure others into the abyss of moral pollution,—let him be shunned even with the horror which the leper of old inspired. A free moral agent, with the books of nature and revelation always open before him, is almost beyond pity, is entirely without excuse, when he grows grey in the service of sin.

The spirit of reform has gone forth over the earth. Let us urge it to lend all its power to bring back to duty our debased fellow creatures. It is time that our streets, our public walks, our theatres should be cleansed from pollution; it is time that our daughters should walk in the highway, without being lured or forced into the haunts of guilt and misery; it is time that our sons, in their native land, should be free to roam unmolested through its towns and cities, and without the danger of being seized and carried to *licensed* hells, or allured to more refined haunts of infamy. We should cry aloud and spare not. No soft terms should be invented to lessen the horror of crime. Language should be appropriate and crimes of black and disgusting import should bear the revolting name deservedly bestowed on them. To call a libertine a *gay man*, is calling vice virtue; for gayety, when springing from a conscience void of offence, is a virtuous and grateful tribute for blessings conferred, and an innocent girl would wonder why she is cautioned against the arts of a gay man, whom her parents and friends admit even into the family circle. How many *such gay men* are the idols of fashionable society, and how their victims multiply in town and country, the history of many a wretched family too plainly testifies to admit of confutation.

A late admirable writer says, "Man is born sovereign of himself." If so, can there be any excuse in this age and country, if he does not learn to govern himself well? If he does not, it is because he will not; it is because he suffers sensual appetite to predominate; it is because he chooses to neglect the noble prerogatives of his nature. We know that self-government is difficult;—every thing is difficult which effects great and glorious purposes. "He that ruleth his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city;" but to this greatness every Christian man and woman should aspire, and may reach it, by the use of powers and means our God and Father has bestowed. Have we not line upon line and precept upon precept? Have we not liberty to act and think for ourselves? Has not Providence given us strength proportioned to our task? Have we not reason, conscience, judgment, wills, free and unrestrained; and, though evil be present with us, have we not the power to choose the good? "Inward empire may be obtained, but we must strive for it. We must make no concessions to weakness, to effemi-

nacy, to cowardice. Vigilance must secure the throne, from whose height the soul must extend its eye far into space and time."

We hope our feelings will be met on this subject. We are not proposing a Utopian scheme, when we propose efforts for reformation. The cautious, timid, "let *well* alone" method has been tried for more than a century, till the seed of the crime in question, then like a grain of mustard seed, has grown into a Upas. Is this *well?* Are we to be cautious still, and use soft words and smile on the villains who ruin, or the monsters in woman's form who seduce our fairest and our loveliest? No; — let us rise in our moral strength, (and man has the "power of an arch-angel,") and with the firm, determined purpose of injured virtue, drive these destroyers from their haunts, banish them from our drawing-rooms, exclude them from our Legislature. Let their crimes be the public scorn; let them find no caverns deep or dark enough to carry on unseen their work of death, — moral, spiritual death.

It is time we look the monster Seduction in the face, and openly give to it the name it merits. In passing not long since, in company with a gentleman, one of the many houses of infamy which disgrace our country, he cautiously whispered, "This is a vile place, it should not be allowed to exist here." "Why not complain of it to the proper authorities?" we asked. "O, it would not do. There are those who frequent this place, whom you would be astonished to hear named. They are men of influence; it would ruin me to offend them." "But your sons and your daughters are endangered by neighbourhood to such a nest of vipers." "True, I know it, but I must be cautious; some others, you, for instance, who are not a resident here, might complain; but I, who live among them, might be ruined if I gained their ill will." Thus, fear of consequences, self-interest, desire of gain, anxiety to keep on terms with fashionable, influential, and moneyed men, bend the soul of man to meannesses of which he is hardly aware, and tempt him to risk even the moral well-being of his children. And for what? — the hope of patronage from some wealthy villain, or the fear of losing the "sweet voices" of those, who can advance his fortunes. Pitiable are the motives, which make men whisper, when they should publish crime from the house-tops.

"How rarely," says Degerando, "do men carry into courage a moral motive, and to what meanness moral cowardice subjects us. It bursts all ties of affection; it is a sort of dissolution of moral existence, chilling the soul, as physical fear chills the limbs, paralyzing the love of excellence and self-government." But though we would encourage men to do their duty, fearless of consequences, we allow that all the good they may do to others, depends on the manner in which the duty is done. "Stand from me, for I am holier than thou," is language, which the discharge of no duty requires us to use. The best must feel humble before the eye of Infinite Goodness, but the hardened sinner should be prevented from polluting society; he should be debarred from the privileges, which he has forfeited by crime, and in silence and solitude should search the depths of his inmost soul till he drives thence every besetting sin. This course may be followed in relation to every guilty child of Adam without arrogance, nay, even with tenderness. Did not he, who died to reconcile offending man with his Creator, weep over the doomed city of Jerusalem, and is not he our great and only perfect Exemplar?

Can it be in vain, that we appeal to a religious public? Are there not virtuous fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters to feel the importance of awakening to a deep sense of the dangers which beset all we love and value? Read the history of corruption, of licensed profligacy, in New-York; see it in our own beloved city; and we need do nothing more to convince ourselves that hunting vice into corners, or confining it to permitted rendezvous, is not the duty a moral people has to do. It must be looked down, and written down. Reformation must be thorough. Wealth must not protect it, learning must not conceal it, brilliancy and wit must lend it no charms. We all know seduction to be an increasing vice among us. Those who are saved from deep transgressions themselves, witness the agony of remorse in others. They see the bitterness of parental grief, mourning over the self-murdered victim of some villain's arts; they see the penitence, the suffering, the sacrifice of one fair, frail being, the profound and durable misery of another,—the martyrdom of a wife,—the deep-seated agony of a betrayed, insulted husband.

We are not supposing it possible to remove crime and its

multiplied causes, at once from our community; but if slavery has become abhorrent, if intemperance is retiring in disgrace, may not a vice which causes the worst of slavery, which drives thousands to seek temporary oblivion of mortal agony in intoxication, be driven, if slowly, yet surely from us in disgrace and into perpetual exile? We believe the spirit has gone forth, which is to effect this object. We believe that ruined loveliness, that deep despair, that maniac sorrow, infanticide, and self-murder have not pleaded in vain. We think we discover this in the signs of the times, in the books which issue from our presses, in the novels which receive the best praise of our best people, in our poetry, in our public lectures, in the zeal for promoting moral and intellectual education. It may be a repulsive, it is certainly a painful, but withal an imperative duty for every individual to aid in the work of reformation, to hold up to public censure every son or daughter of America, who countenances vice, even if clothed in the garb of fashionable splendor, or arrayed with the imposing charms of wit, taste, and literature. The heaviness of a self-accusing spirit should rest on every one, who directly or indirectly veils from noon-day light the destroyer of the dearest and strongest bonds of society.

Who can read a single chapter in the history of man's common nature without learning some of the numerous ways, in which man may become corrupt and tarnish the pure and holy spirit breathed into him by the Creator; and who can refuse to do all he can do to purify this soul if tainted, and to preserve it spotless if it has been so happy as to escape pollution. One reason, above all others, why we may justly congratulate ourselves on the progress of moral reformation is, that just views respecting the importance of early education so generally prevail. In the spring-time of life the mind is a nicely tuned instrument, which, like the Æolian harp, should be played upon only by the airs of heaven. Any thing gross destroys its tone, and, though it may be repaired, it rarely recovers its original perfection. We are beginning to realize, that in infancy the human heart is susceptible of strong impressions, and that the opening powers of the soul should have, for the first object of their affections, the God of purity and love. If devotion is a spell to break the power of sense, it can never be used more effectually than before sense has acquired a

strong hold upon the mind. The dominion of appetite begins with physical existence; let the dominion of devotion begin with mental developement. The world is beginning to realize, that early habits of activity should be associated with the idea of fulfilling that part on the theatre of action which God has given us to do, and with continual reference to His approbation. Children are now taught, that in exercising the powers, which He has given them, they are assisting to put in operation the great machine of society which God has organized, and thus early to mix obedience to His will and philanthropic sentiment with active existence. We hail the day in which the truth has dawned upon our country, that the season of pleasure should be made the season of devotion; that every enjoyment should be made a subject of thankfulness. It is in infancy that the heart is most susceptible, it is then, that early dawn, the breath of summer, the melody of an affectionate voice, the caress of tenderness may be made instruments to open the fountains of love in the human soul, a love which flows only at the voice of purity and excellence, and which spreads far and wide as the soul becomes acquainted with the treasures of mercy that are in the Christian's God. When devotion springs up with mental existence, a child will soon learn the connexion between himself as an effect and God as a cause; and it is then he may be taught, that he was created for some great object, the object of being good, and that goodness constitutes the only happiness he was made to enjoy.

Better views also open upon us in relation to the education of youth. People begin to realize, that imagination has a powerful ascendency over undisciplined minds, and are beginning to remove from their libraries works which display human passions and feelings in unregulated exercise. Few young or old people can rise uncontaminated from a strict analysis of human passions and vices, and we are happy to see works of fiction assuming a less sickly, sentimental cast, a less disgusting display of overpowering love, amiable weaknesses, resultless sensibility. For setting a bright example in this department of the labor of reformation, Sir Walter Scott's memory will always be held in high veneration. By him, vice is set in its true colors. No Lovelace disgraces his pages. No Tom Jones is allowed to win the heart of virtuous woman. No attempt is made to throw

a charm around an unfaithful wife; no veil of grace and beauty conceals impurity of heart and life. The degraded intellect, the brutal appetites, every crime stands out in bold relief and is seen to be abhorred. In his pages

> "Beauty has no lustre,
> Save when it gleameth through the crystal web,
> That Purity's fine fingers weave for it."

We think it an error, when it is asserted, that wealth and civilization necessarily introduce crime into a country. It affords facilities for its concealment, and leisure and means to indulge in its practice, — but the criminal sins against increasing light, and is doubly guilty. Here, where the Bible is in every hand, the pure gospel preached in every city, town, and village; where our teachers are learned, and our rulers are or ought to be wise and good, is crime the necessary concomitant of wealth and knowledge? We think not. Man must, among us, perforce ascertain his own powers, his capabilities of resisting temptation; and the solemn fact is forced upon him, whether he will or not, that if seduction is tolerated in America, it is because the affluent and the powerful, the Fathers of the country, the sons of the Pilgrims, will have it so. U —— A.

Art. IV. — 1. *Some of the Principles according to which this world is managed, contrasted with the Government of God, and the Principles exhibited for Man's Guidance in the Bible. Delivered as an Address at the Religious Celebration, on the Fourth of July, in Salem.* By George B. Cheever, Pastor of the Howard Street Church. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 1833. 8vo. pp. 60.

2. *Review of Professor Norton's "Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians, concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ."* First published in "The Christian Spectator." Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 1833. 8vo. pp. 28.

It is understood that Mr. Cheever is the writer of the last of these pamphlets, as well as the first. We feel authorized to take this for granted, and to give it all the pub-

licity that we can. Indeed, if we are rightly informed, as we cannot doubt, Mr. Cheever first prepared the Review as a sermon or lecture, preached it substantially if not wholly to his own people, then sent it to New Haven to grace the pages of "The Christian Spectator," and then published it or allowed it to be published in Boston as a separate pamphlet, to be scattered here and everywhere. We infer, therefore, that no little importance is attached to this production, by its author, by the conductors of the Christian Spectator, and by his and their friends generally. And well may they view it as important, if weakness and wickedness can give it importance. It will perhaps in one way mark its own time. Its author has revived or begun an unusual warfare, — a coarse, envenomed, savage warfare.

We say this deliberately, with a full consideration of the strength of every word. We say it of the Review. We say it, with equal deliberation and soberness, of the Address, so far as it relates to Unitarians and their religion and character, — a subject to which the orator devotes more space than is usual at the celebration of our Independence. It was, we know, designed to be a religious celebration in this instance, but that only aggravates the sin; especially when we remember, that it had been usual in Salem, as in other places, and probably was not forgotten then, to invite all denominations to be present on this occasion. Mr. Cheever appears eagerly to have seized upon it and exulted in it, as a rare opportunity of exhibiting to others beside his own people, his powers of daring and reckless denunciation. In these circumstances, looking at his language in this Address, and in the Review which soon followed, we shall not be honest nor be understood, if we connect with his conduct any milder epithets than are here used.

Why then follow his example? we are asked. We do not, and we shall not. The burst of honest and irrepressible indignation awakened against the committer of an outrage is not itself an outrage. To convict a man of gross and wicked slandering is not to slander the slanderer. Besides, we have nothing to say against Mr. Cheever or about him, except in relation to this one overt act. We accuse him of nothing, but of being the accuser of his brethren, a character in which he now stands before the world most prominently, and in which he glories. We make no assault

upon his faith, his system, his church, or brethren. We call him not "a deist," "a rejecter of God's word," an "infidel," or a "wrap-rascal." Nor will we represent his whole denomination as using the same language, or capable of the same conduct, as his. We war not, as he does, with the lowest weapons, against hundreds whom we know to be upright, and thousands whom we do not know at all, except as bearing his religious name. We look at him only as he has voluntarily and forcibly placed himself before us. We do, as he says all should do, declare plainly, "Thou art the man."

But where and what are the passages which justify these strictures? The following as specimens will suffice, when accompanied with the assurance that we omit no extenuating or softening remarks, for such there are not in either pamphlet, — no, not one. Mr. Cheever, to do him justice, sins not by halves. It enters not into his plan to say any thing or leave any thing unsaid, from which the least charitable inference can be drawn. He tells us, — "Charity to such error would indeed be wilful participation in sin." That sin he scrupulously and entirely shuns. He does not so much as breathe a prayer, as we recolleot, that our eyes may be opened, or the blackness of our guilt washed out. He probably does not think it possible. We have no evidence here that he thinks it desirable. If he does, it would probably occur to him as a part of his duty, to make some attempt to point out our error and convince us of the truth. But he takes a different course.

We quote first from his Address delivered "on the Fourth of July." Having spoken of knowledge, taste, poetry, and refinement, as powerful means of religious influence, he is pleased to say of Christianity as inculcated by Unitarians: —

"Its gross and *wilful* errors in regard to man's moral being are palsying in their influence over his intellectual being; 'for in the moral being,' (it is one of Coleridge's profound reflections,) 'lies the source of the intellectual. The first step to knowledge, or rather the previous condition of all insight into truth, is to dare to commune with our very and permanent self.' This the Unitarians dare not do; if they did, they would at once be convicted of *guilt*, and meet an unavoidable refutation of their own system. 'It is Warburton's

remark,' Coleridge continues, 'that of all literary exercitations, whether designed for the use or entertainment of the world, there are none of so much importance, or so immediately our concern, as those which let us into the knowledge of our own nature. Others may exercise the understanding or amuse the imagination; but these only can improve the heart and form the human mind to wisdom.'

"Now this system, with all its literary exercitations, far from letting us into the knowledge of our own nature, *aims* both to keep us in ignorance of that nature, and to give us wrong views of it. Here then, in regard to the very groundwork and previous condition of all insight into truth, it is inevitably and thoroughly superficial. We might add to this that a habit of mind, such as the painful and laborious *effort* of Unitarianism to evade and explain away the Holy Scriptures and discredit their authority tends to foster, is in itself eminently inconsistent with free and vigorous thought. Indeed, a vigorous mind could scarcely pursue a train of thought in any direction, without coming full upon some grand principle, from whose radiant light this system of negations, with its whole statement of reasons for not believing, flees away, discomfited and affrighted. It is a system that, not satisfied with deceiving the heart, and excluding from the soul all knowledge of our 'very and permanent self,' makes a coward and an habitual sophist even of the intellect, which then only can remain at ease in the midst of such gross error, when 'covered round and comfortable in the *wrap-rascal* of self-hypocrisy' and sophistry.

"In the light of these truths it is easy to see why, in all the Socinian literature, though its pretensions are great, and supported in this country by the fostering care of the oldest and richest University in the United States, there is nothing but superficiality. There is not, either in this country or in England. Here we shall be pointed to such names as those of Priestly [Priestley], Belsham, and Channing; nor would any one deny that the first of these was a man of much mental activity and ingenuity, and the last a man distinguished by fine words, elegance of style, and lofty sentimentalism, especially when he speaks of glorious, godlike human nature. At the same time it is neither novelty nor arrogance to say, that they are each superficial in his own sphere, and both superficial in theology. What are they by the side of John Howe, Ralph Cudworth, John Foster, or Dr. Chalmers, or others whom we might name in our own land, of evidently far greater depth and originality of mind either than the Birmingham

Philosopher, or the 'splendid writer and high-souled man,' who stands at the head of Unitarianism in this country? They are dwarfed in the comparison, and their works appear like huts at the base of ancient temples, built of the scattered fragments of decay. Surely, there is more deep thought in a solitary leaf of one of John Howe's sermons, than in all Dr. Priestly's, Belsham's, and Channing's works put together, adding even Miss Martineau's to the collection."—pp. 25–27.

Dignified and appropriate language this for a public religious celebration of our national independence in such a community as that of Salem! So much for what our author, not less amiable for his modesty than venerable for his years, denominates the "superficiality," and, we suppose we must say after his own happy manner, *wrap-rascality* of the literature and religion of such men as Milton, Newton, and Locke, — Lardner, Priestley, and Cappe!

Leaving the Address for the present, we open the other pamphlet before us, called a "Review of Professor Norton's 'Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians concerning the Nature of God and the Person of Christ.'" Before we begin to make extracts, we have to notice two instances of bold injustice, pervading the whole. First, though this is called a "Review of a Statement of Reasons," and is published and circulated as such, it does not so much as examine or profess to examine a single one of those reasons. Nay, the writer expressly disclaims any intention of reviewing Mr. Norton's book, or of answering or attempting to answer his statements, criticisms, or arguments. But there is another instance of deception, on the first and whole face of this production, still more remarkable. Our readers will remember the title of Professor Norton's book. Mr. Cheever calls it, in his first paragraph and through his whole Review, *Reasons for not believing.* We italicize it ourselves, and we wish it to be marked. Seven or eight times does this veracious reviewer refer to it in that way, sometimes giving it in capitals and with quotation marks, thus declaring that it is the real title of the book. In fact, we do not remember that in the body of the tirade, he once gives it its true title. We say, therefore, that this Review comes before the world with a lie in its right hand, and one by no means light either in its character or its intended effects. It not only says, that Unitarianism is a

"religion, whose *whole* existence is manifested in *unbelief*, and whose very creed consists in statements of reasons for not believing," (p. 8,) but it virtually says, that Mr. Norton and his brethren acknowledge this, and aver it in the very titles of their books. Nor is Mr. Cheever content with saying this in the Review. In his Fourth-of-July Address, delivered two months before the Review appeared, we find him talking of a "system of negations, with its whole statement of reasons for not believing." (p. 26.) We know not, and we hope never to know, with what feelings a man of honor, or a man without honor, resorts to such pitiful shifts. While he declares our system to be "of its Father, the Devil," and distorts to his own purpose a garbled passage from Mr. Norton, that "the language of error may be used, in order powerfully to affect the feelings,"—he appears to use, in the most literal and liberal way, the strange liberty which he says that passage implies. The Review opens upon us thus:

"In the appearance of this volume, we have another significant token, that Unitarianism, on this side of the Atlantic as well as on the other, is rapidly fulfilling the predictions of the friends of the Bible. It is advancing, in the full blazonry of unbelief, to destruction. It was necessary that, before its final death-struggle, it should for a while assume its true character; as the Evil Spirits are said, in God's word, to have torn the men possessed, before they came out. Here is another stride towards the gloomy gulf of open infidelity; and this volume might more appropriately have been entitled, *A Statement of Reasons why Unitarians ought to be considered as Infidels and not Christians.* We are glad, on the whole, that the work of making this statement has fallen into the hands of so genuine a Neologist, and rejecter of God's word, as Professor Norton. We call him a rejecter of God's word; nor will our readers esteem the phrase inappropriate, if they open his book, and behold the cool indifference with which he strikes out epistle after epistle from the sacred canon, whenever its richness and fullness of 'heavenly places in Christ Jesus,' are too powerfully contrasted with the meagre, death-like phantom of his own 'Reasons for not believing.' He has treated the Bible, and the character of Jesus with such cool, anatomizing infidelity, that all but those initiated and confirmed *in the heathen irreligion of the sect*, must, we think, be startled into salutary reflection. Such, if we are rightly informed, is already the case with some; and we hope the extent of infidelity, to which

he has proceeded in his 'Statement,' may prove the means of awakening to a conviction of their error a multitude of others, who have hitherto slumbered in the dreadful delusion of Unitarianism." — p. 3.

Again, after quoting a passage in which Mr. Norton states what he conceives to be the leading principles of Unitarian belief, though with the express declaration, "I speak in the name of no party," Mr. Cheever goes into a flourish of charges which we would gladly abridge, if we could do it with justice to him or ourselves.

"Here is the creed of Unitarians: let all the world hear. They say WE BELIEVE! In the very Statement of Reasons for not Believing, they have at length uttered a believing affirmation! The oracle has spoken.

'Leave, oh leave me, to repose!'

And what has it spoken? Most lame and impotent conclusion! Not one solitary syllable in regard to a SAVIOUR, nor the most distant intimation that in all God's plan there *is* one! If we could not select from the works of Plato, a creed at least equal in richness and elevation of sentiment, and more nearly approximating to divine truth, we are sadly mistaken. We say, *more nearly approximating to divine truth,* for we could find in Plato no doubtful recognition of the truths of man's depravity, the malignity of sin, and the certainty of a future retribution. But these are things which Unitarians do not love to dwell upon. The shrinking soul, oppressed with a sense of guilt, looks round in anguish for a MEDIATOR between God and man; but the idea of a mediator, is one which the Unitarians seem perfectly to abhor. They thank God they can come into God's presence without a mediator. No wonder, then, that their system excludes every thing which would lead the soul to the conviction of its guilt, and the search for an atonement, and therefore every thing peculiar to the gospel; — the depravity of man, the infinite evil of sin, the great day of judgment, an Almighty Saviour. It would task the critical ingenuity of Professor Norton himself, to discover in this creed of Unitarianism, the slightest traces of these fundamental truths. Indeed, its poverty is such as Plato would have pitied, and the very deist, in reference to its pretensions to have come from revelation, would scorn.

"And yet this stale and lifeless creed, which Paine himself would probably have accepted without the slightest amelioration either in his intellect or heart, from which all mention of

a Saviour is studiously excluded, and which, even as an exposition of natural religion is ineffably weak and soul-less, this is the vaunted remedy for infidelity! This is to be substituted for Jesus Christ and him crucified, and offered to the expecting nations as the sole product of all the wonders of revelation! But no: we mistake: it will *not* be offered to the nations: Unitarianism has no missionaries, cannot support *one*. We are thankful that it is impossible for this delusion and the missionary spirit to live together.

It is not strange that the admirers of this system think it will suit infidels. Voltaire himself would have received it as the only creed for a gentleman, ridiculing nothing about it but its pretensions to revelation. It *does* suit infidels. It *is* a creed which the unregenerate, unbelieving heart craves. Mr. Norton is perfectly right in believing, that when all the peculiar doctrines of the Bible are blotted out, and its spirituality explained away, there will then no longer be infidels. True; there will be nothing left to disbelieve, nothing for infidelity to fasten on. There will no longer be any opportunity for exercising the power of dissent. And when this is the case, what will become of that religion whose whole existence is manifested in unbelief, and whose very creed consists in Statements of Reasons for not believing? The millenium of release from the bondage of orthodoxy, to which the Professor so devoutly aspires, will be the signal for the extinction of a sect that lives by disbelieving; since there will then be no proposition to reject or contend against, and therefore no one principle of union or life. Other principle they have none, than that of negation. Antagonism to orthodoxy is their sole principle of vitality." — pp. 7–9.

Again, he says, or rather he raves:

"Their whole system, if system it can be called,

> 'The other shape,
> If shape it might be called, that shape had none
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
> Or substance might be called, that shadow seemed,
> For each seemed either,'

is like a palsy to the intellect, withering, stagnant, unthinking, superficial; and all the forms of literature itself, under that system must be superficial and soul-less. There is nothing in it to stir either the mind or the heart. In order to exist, they must keep, as to the knowledge of God's word, in an everlasting moral twilight, where the mind dares not move; for the noonday blaze of God's word expels and purges off such

error; and then the mind encounters moral *principles*, instead of the flimsy sentimentalism of their speculations. Like the fiend floundering through chaos, and bent to reduce the world to her 'original darkness,' they ask,

> 'Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies,
> Bordering on light;'

and having found this region they rest contented; for a step on the other side into the full light of the Bible would utterly blind and confound them." — p. 16.

Sir James Mackintosh, noticing a gross attack made upon Robert Hall, says, — "The black and fell malignity which pervades this man's attack on Mr. Hall, raises it to a sort of diabolical importance, of which its folly, and ignorance, and vulgarity cannot entirely deprive it. This must be our excuse for stooping so low as to examine it." The spirit, the language, the purpose, the whole imagery and aspect of Mr. Cheever's assault, seem specially fitted to give it a "diabolical importance." Yet we do not believe him guilty of "black and fell malignity." If we have used or should use any language seeming to imply that, we wish to be understood as referring to the moral aspect and influence of his writings, rather than his motives or the impulse of his heart at the time. We do not suppose his heart had much to do with this outrage. He does not write as if in passion or malice. He never loses his balance. Every thing is cool and measured. There is indeed a studied elegance in the midst of his vituperations, a choice of words, a looking for quotations and epithets, and a discursive play of the imagination, quite inconsistent with strong passion, we had almost said with strong feeling, or a sincere belief in the vileness of those whom he calmly consigns to the ice of "cold-blooded infidelity" and the fire of perdition. We are not without doubts whether he himself thinks they deserve this doom, though he is resolved upon doing his utmost to make others think so. It is not passion, but policy. The powers that nerve his arm to give the death-blow, if he can, are more of the head than of the heart. It is far-sighted, or as it may prove, very short-sighted calculation. He had lived among Unitarians, had courted and professed to enjoy their society, had honored them and himself by freely using their writings in his published compila-

tions, and thus had gained with many, probably with his own people, the name of liberal. That disgrace must be wiped off. It had even been whispered that he might become a Unitarian. The calumny must be repelled. There must be no room left, with opponent or partisan, for the least suspicion of such a dereliction and degradation. Besides, he had talents not to be buried, a mind well-furnished, a fruitful imagination, readiness of thought and expression, boldness of design, familiarity with Coleridge and the worst passages of Burke (those who will look at the frequency and the manner in which he has used these writers, will understand and pardon our mention of them), and a tact at turning whatever of good or bad, friend or foe has written, orthodox or heterodox in its character, to his own purpose. These powers presented to his mind, as they appear to have done lately to several of his contemporaries, the image of early renown. He must be a leader. He must do something to win the reputation of a keen observer of all weakness and error, an unsparing denouncer of the unpardonable sin of the times. He must follow in this, at least, the great Hall, who, he says, "wrote in such a way on the Socinian controversy, as ought to make men ashamed of that false delicacy, which shrinks back from the plain exposure of Unitarian infidelity in the pulpit." In a word, he must spring forth at once, clad in armour, a fearless and successful champion of the holy cause against the wicked, "to crush them at a grasp."

It will be said that Mr. Cheever has done no more and no worse than many before him. It is difficult to compare sins of this kind. Those which others have committed have been dark enough doubtless, and it is not necessary to show any deeper shades here, to justify our remarks. But we think there are deeper shades, or there are circumstances to aggravate the guilt. When Unitarianism, as such, was first proclaimed, and it was seen how extended and powerful it already was, the torrents of abuse poured upon it by "The Panoplist" and similar engines of sectarian jealousy and rancour, were not surprising. So also when it first reared its horrid form in distant important places, as in Baltimore and New York, new as it was, and necessary if not easy to strangle the monster in its cradle, it was a matter of course that it should encounter the Herculean might and savage

blows of a Miller and a Mason. There was, not only the natural feeling occasioned by the first alarm and entire ignorance of the real character or power of the invader, but there was also the explanation, we say not apology, in the case of the leaders just referred to, whose assaults were the most vehement and gross we have had, — that the former knew little of Unitarians personally, and the latter was an old, broken-down, unhappy man. But all that passed. It ceased. There has been little like it since. It has been discountenanced by the better portion of the Orthodox community, as they learned more of the actual opinions and characters of liberal Christians. Some who were most violent grew milder with the wisdom of age, some have in different ways evinced their repentance for former intolerance, as in England has been done publicly and most honorably in several instances. Thus mutual civility, if not confidence, was restored, interrupted occasionally by such restless but harmless spirits as that of Parsons Cooke, but soon returning, and promising, we had hoped, to become the fixed state of general feeling and intercourse. In these circumstances, the friends of order and decency must look with peculiar regret and aversion on the conduct of those, who, within the last year and in the midst of our own community, have let loose their bad passions to break this growing quiet. And who are they? Two or three young men, with neither experience, learning, reputation, power, or authority of any kind, sufficient to excuse or sustain them; living too among those whom they defame, and knowing them, yes, we say it fearlessly, *knowing* them to be as upright, intelligent, and conscientious, as any of their own name. There may be many sins laid at our own door, — enough, we feel, each of us will have to answer for; but save us from this spirit of self-exaltation going forth to the condemnation of all others, — keep us from this mad work of ruthless invasion and desecration. Give us the spirit of the devout Thacher, when he exclaimed, — "O far, far rather would I appear before my Judge, at that solemn hour, with all the accumulated errors and absurdities which the human mind in its most pitiable weakness has ever engendered, than with the tremendous responsibility of having made such charges as these against my brethren, on light and insufficient grounds."

"Light and insufficient grounds." Certainly, says Mr.

Cheever; but there is the very point at issue. Those few words deprive your appeal of all power, as regards me. These are not light and insufficient grounds, on which I have brought charges.—Yes, Sir, they are. All grounds must be insufficient for such charges as you have brought, except that of open immorality and impiety. For what have you said? Not that we are in error merely, — thousands say that, and we say it of you and of many more. Not that we are in great and hurtful error, for that too we expect and return. Nor yet, that our error is soul-destroying in its tendency and effects, though this ought ever to be resisted as a manifest usurpation of a divine prerogative, assuming the right to pronounce, not only on the error, but on the heart and soul of the errorist. But you have gone infinitely beyond all this. You have charged us with *wilful* error. And between wilful error, and any other, however great, whose growth has been involuntary and unconscious, there is an infinite distance, both in turpitude and peril. Indeed it is not possible to charge a man with a greater crime, with fouler or more daring sin, than this. It implies that he is corrupt to the very core; as, otherwise, there would be a contradiction and absurdity in the very terms, wilful error. Yet this, Sir, is your charge against us, a charge not once or hastily thrown out, but repeated again and again, with deliberation and every aggravation that the language of earth and the imagery of hell could furnish you. This charge have you brought against individuals, by name, the powers of whose minds you cannot fathom, and on whose integrity no lips have dared to breathe the slightest imputation. This charge have you brought against some, whose moral and devotional writings you have used with commendation, and whom you must know to be humble and earnest inquirers after truth; at least, if you do not know it, you do not and cannot know it of any. And, lastly, you have brought this solemn and fearful charge against hundreds whom you never saw, and of whose circumstances, hearts, characters, and lives, you are utterly ignorant. Going down into their souls, and up to the throne of judgment, you have accused them all of upholding "a system which keeps *studiously*" (I mark some words now, that you and much more others may ponder them) "out of view man's spiritual nature and destiny, strips religion of its power over the conscience," &c. You

have accused them in plain terms of "gross and *wilful* errors" — of cherishing a system which "*aims* both to keep us in ignorance of our nature, and to *give us wrong views* of it," of, "under *pretence* of making the Bible a book which infidels can believe, destroying all its spirituality and undermining our confidence in its sacred authority," — of "enlightening the public in regard to the propriety, intelligence, politeness, and excellence of unbelief," — of "*thanking* God that they can come into God's presence without a mediator," and seeming "perfectly to *abhor* the idea of a mediator," — of holding a "stale and lifeless creed, from which all mention of a Saviour is *studiously* excluded," — of seeking "not to explain, but to explain *away* God's word," — "whose anxiety is not to explain the Bible, but to *unspiritualize* it," (and these two last are your own emphases), "diminish its authority, fill it with errors, and turn it into a mass of fable;" — mark, "whose *anxiety*" it is to use the Bible thus. These, bold and insolent accuser, are your very words, by which, in degree if not in kind, you have gained for yourself an ignoble preëminence among your fellows.

A new and terrific power is given to that declaration of our Saviour: "Judge not, that ye be not judged; for with what judgment ye judge, *ye shall be judged.*" And with what judgment do these men judge? Not only without evidence, but against evidence. They set aside the best witnesses that can be produced, — a man's works. They condemn as infidels those who have written expressly and lived consistently *against* infidelity. They reject proof better than they themselves could adduce in support of their own belief. They first tell men, who declare to the world their faith in Christianity, that they are hypocritical and perjured, and then bring as evidence the very pages which those men have written in defence of Christianity. We doubt if the history of the church has witnessed stronger instances of outrage, — we do not say upon charity, for that lives with the antipodes to such defamers, but upon any thing that can be called fairness, or integrity, common justice, or decency, — than those contained in the attack upon Dr. Channing lately published in "The New England Magazine," and in these papers from Mr. Cheever. What would be thought of the man, who should call Paley an infidel; and that too

while examining his "Evidences," and on the strength of these Evidences? But would it be one whit more ridiculous or infamous, than to call Dr. Channing an infidel, while noticing a volume of writings which is chiefly devoted to the formal, direct vindication of Christianity? How do these judges distinguish between truth and falsehood, right and wrong? What is their test of real Christianity, and a legitimate or even intended defence of this religion? Can there be a doubt? Will they themselves hesitate a moment to reply, that that test is Trinitarianism, Calvinism, Orthodoxy? The system of evidence, which supports these, supports Christianity; no others. To write in behalf of Christianity without implying, introducing, confirming these, is clear infidelity. Write or preach as fully and ably as you will for the Bible, defend it from assault, cavil, objection, opposition of any kind, with any power or eloquence, there is a "lurking skepticism," there is an "infidel tendency" through the whole, if the whole do not look to Calvinism, or if you are not known to be a Calvinist, to be Orthodox. Your very efforts to substantiate the religion of Jesus, do but substantiate the religion of Hume and Paine. It is "heathen irreligion." It is "cool, anatomizing infidelity." We are sometimes driven to believe, that there are those around us who look with suspicion on the piety and even Christianity of such men as Paley and Lardner,* simply because, whatever were their real views, they did not avow at every point their belief in what are now the only true, the essential doctrines.

In the instances to which we have alluded, there are not only gross charges of infidelity brought in the face of all evidence, but there are also great inconsistencies involved. The charge, for instance, is brought by Mr. Cheever against Dr. Channing, in which he speaks, not only of the infidel

* How seldom do we hear now any Unitarian writer on the Evidences spoken of by other denominations as Adam Clarke speaks of Lardner, — "A man whose name should never be mentioned but with respect, notwithstanding the peculiarities of his religious creed; who has done more in the service of divine revelation than most divines in Christendom; and who has raised a monument to the perpetuity of the Christian religion, which all the infidels in creation shall never be able to pull down or deface." Yet who can show, that Lardner was not as much of an infidel himself, as Priestley, Channing, or Norton?

character of his writings, but of "their superficial, puny sentimentalism." Yet this same Mr. Cheever, a few years ago, inserted in his "Choice Selections from American Prose Writers," a part of Dr. Channing's Sermon on the "Importance of Religion to Society," containing one of the strongest descriptions possible of the indispensable worth of religious principle, and the wretchedness of society and individuals without it. Indeed, it would be amusing, to look over the two Collections, of Prose and Poetry, made by Mr. Cheever, and see how large a proportion he has taken from those, to whom in his Address he denies not only all religion, but all claims to taste, refinement, learning, and power: declaring in his own pure English, — "In all the Socinian literature, — there is nothing but superficiality." Or thus, — "Surely there is more deep thought in a solitary leaf of one of John Howe's sermons, than in all Dr. Priestly's, Belsham's, and Channing's works put together, adding even Miss Martineau's to the collection."

It is impossible to repress a feeling of self-degradation, while noticing such passages. But as we have entered upon the mortifying task, we will finish it as well and thoroughly as we can. The above passage is one instance, from many, of the poor personalities, in which this writer indulges. He loses no chance of giving a slur at any one, or throwing out, as if incidentally, charges of the greatest vileness. Thus in the Appendix to his Address, he quotes from an Article in "The Spirit of the Pilgrims," on what he calls "the system of Rationalism in Germany, the twin-brother to Unitarianism in this country"; and in the midst of the quotation, after this passage, — "Particularly striking is the unequalled deceitfulness of many of these publications," he throws in the following parenthesis; "[Henry Ware's book on the Formation of Christian Character, is probably a good specimen.]" A good specimen of unequalled deceitfulness! Does Mr. Cheever think so of that book? No, nor Mr. Adams, nor any man that has ever read it. We say nothing of the merits of the book, we refer only to its tone, and object, and influence, so far as it can have any. And we pronounce the manner in which it has been treated by these writers, another sad proof of the recklessness with which they pursue a certain object. Judged indeed by the same standard, there are large portions of

Scripture, some even of our Lord's discourses, which would be in danger of falling under the same condemnation. It matters not what there *is* in the book or the discourse, it is what there is *not* that condemns it. And this test, how could the Sermon on the Mount abide?

We are compelled to notice another gross personal assault from Mr. Cheever, false in its positions, and unchristian in its temper. The subject of it is Dr. Priestley, of whom he says much in his Address, treating him as if quite familiar with his character and writings, while he shows, in regard to both, much of that "superficiality" of which he accuses Priestley, and, often as he uses his name, never even spells it correctly. He first quotes very unfairly from an article in this journal, in which it was said, that it seemed to be a common opinion in regard to Priestley, "that he was a reckless freethinker," &c.*; meaning plainly that this was the opinion of his opponents and some of his friends, but wholly without reason. Mr. Cheever quotes it as an opinion, "which even in 'The Christian Examiner' is stated as the one *universally entertained in regard to him.*" The words which we have marked afford another instance of Mr. Cheever's disregard for acuracy, we must say it,—for truth. When a man sets himself up as the public censor of morals and religion, when, besides, he extols boastingly the boldness which "calls things by their right names," he must expect to be treated accordingly. There are here, in regard to that one man, Dr. Priestley, three bold misstatements of fact,—first, in regard to the passage from our own pages, then the direct assertion, several times repeated, that Priestley was an infidel, and then the further assertion that he died with "philosophical indifference." We are told of "the powerful infidelity with which his works are saturated." We are told, that "that immortal spirit passed into eternity with a blind and dreadful indifference to the future, and a denial of all repentance for the past." And to reach the height of this recklessness of statement, we are told, that Priestley was "rash, superficial, and an infidel,"—and again, that he was an "avowed unbeliever," with the plain intimation, that all "the advocates of Unitarianism" are the same. Now others must estimate for themselves the con-

* Christian Examiner, for May, 1832, p. 257.

science, the morality, and piety of a man, who will make such assertions as these in the face of palpable facts, which he knows, or his ignorance of which does but aggravate his guilt.

It may be old-fashioned in us, but we still hold, that there is moral obliquity in falsehood and calumny; and that it is as direct falsehood and as great calumny, to call a Christian an infidel, to brand Christian ministers past and present with this stigma, to imply that they and all of the same name live in impious mockery of God, and die in skeptical apathy or scorn, as to throw into the community any other false and slanderous statements. Is it not a strange state of public morals, if a man may spend a long and laborious life in the examination, explanation, and defence of the Christian religion; may devote as much time habitually to the serious perusal of the Scriptures themselves as any public man is known to devote; may write large volumes of Evidences of Christianity, and treatise after treatise against infidelity in direct reply to Gibbon, Hume, Paine, Volney, Evanson, and Jews, and unbelievers generally; may adhere to the preaching of Christianity in the midst of all manner of obloquy and personal sacrifice; may return good for evil, and blessing for cursing, with an evenness of temper and power of forgiveness seldom witnessed; may present a moral character which even the worst enemy dares not impeach; and may die, as he has lived, with the language of religious instruction, resignation, and peace, upon his lips, — and yet be called an infidel; yea, proclaimed by a minister of religion an *avowed infidel?* Is it not a strange state of public or party morals, if this can be done without compunction in the religious teacher who does it, and without emotion in the community who receive it? Done, too, in regard, not to an individual only, but expressly or virtually in regard to several individuals, by name, and a whole class indiscriminately! Priestley was *not* an infidel. There is not a page of his writings or a fact in his life or death, which can afford a man a moral apology for saying that he was. If any man's life can give proof of devotion to the faith and practice of Christianity, his life gave it. And in all the circumstances of his last sickness and death, there is evidence of Christian calmness and love, which the mind must be perverted or the heart hardened to resist. Some of our

scarcely fledged "fighting-cocks of Orthodoxy" would do well to study the character of a man, of whom a religious opponent could say, "He [Priestley] was the most unassuming, candid man I ever knew; and never did I hear from his lips, either in lecture or sermon, one illiberal sentiment, or one harsh expression concerning any persons who differed from him, not even of the individuals who were so much in the practice of abusing him and traducing his character."

We are spending too much time on Mr. Cheever's sweeping charges and lavish abuse. Leaving all other instances we must briefly advert to his Review, in connexion with the book to which it professes to relate. It is not for us to defend that book against an attack of this character. We mean barely to show in what way Mr. Cheever has treated it. As we before remarked, he does not pretend to answer one of its arguments, and in this he acted judiciously. He does not however leave the book unnoticed. By no means. He notices it in such a way, as to make the most effectual and frightful appeal to the ignorance and passions of his readers. Knowing that few if any of them, at least after this, would open Mr. Norton's book to see for themselves, he had it all in his power, and could make such extracts, and only such, here a little and there a little, as would best serve. A man of less power than he could make the best book in the world appear the worst, in this way, as every writer or reader knows. By taking a few words in reference to each important doctrine or passage, never giving the context or intimating that there is the least to qualify the first import, Mr. Cheever makes out a fine "catalogue of negations" from this "statement of *not* believing." We regret that one so familiar with and so fond of Burke, should not have noticed one of his passages, quoted by Mr. Norton himself: — "I do not conceive you to be of that sophistical, captious spirit, or of that uncandid dulness, as to require for every general observation or sentiment, an explicit detail of the correctives and exceptions, which reason will presume to be included in all the general propositions which come from a reasonable man." Thus he quotes and marks strongly the "explicit declaration of Mr. Norton elsewhere," — not telling us where, — "that the canonical books of the New Testament are NOT the revelation which God made by Christ." Every body at all acquainted with the subject

knows, that if Mr. Norton used this language, it was only to distinguish between the books of the New Testament, considered as a record of the revelation, and the revelation itself. Yet Mr. Cheever cuts and prints it in such a way, as to make it seem a denial that the books of the New Testament contain the Christian revelation.

The most important charges that he brings, relate to the disputed Epistles, and the inspiration of the Apostles. Mr. Norton thinks that "Paul did *not* write the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that Peter did *not* write the second of his own Epistles." He must therefore be set forth as "striking out epistle after epistle from the sacred canon." Is this ignorance in Mr. Cheever, or is it fraud again? Is he so little versed in the history of the Scriptures, as not to know, that the books of the New Testament from the very first, according to every authority that he himself will acknowledge, were divided into two classes, those universally received and those controverted? Does he not know, that in the ancient catalogues, the Epistles named above are placed in the latter class, the controverted, denoting that there was a difference of opinion as to their authors, even among those who had but one opinion as to their excellence, truth, and importance? Does not Mr. Cheever know that Luther himself did not believe that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews? If he will consult Origen, Eusebius, the Syriac Version, and some other authorities, he may find that this is not a new heresy which he has thus blazoned forth, but as old as the canon itself. Many of us see not the same reason that Mr. Norton sees for holding these particular opinions, but it is not for an honest man to make such use of it as is here made. So in regard to Inspiration, the indignant cry is, that Mr. Norton thinks the Apostles might and did fall into some mistakes. It is easy to imagine what work such a man as Mr. Cheever could make of such an opinion. If he is not convinced by his own reading, and if he has not the candor and fidelity to teach his people, that the Apostles did hold some erroneous views of our Saviour's kingdom, and misunderstand his very words, it would be folly to attempt to convince him of any thing. We are sorry to see ministers of religion so ready to inflame the passions, and embitter the prejudices of their people, by representing as awful heresy in other ministers and sects, that which the leaders of their

own sect openly avow, and which they themselves, if they knew any thing of Scripture, must admit. If Mr. Cheever will read to his people what Professor Stuart says of inspiration in his Commentary on Romans, he will not find it necessary to represent or to misrepresent Mr. Norton on that subject. We are not aware that any Unitarian has gone farther than Mr. Stuart, and hope no one will. Even the following few lines are enough.

"To my own mind nothing appears more certain, than that inspiration, in any respect whatever, was not *abiding* and *uniform* with the Apostles or any of the primitive Christians. — Jesus 'knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth'; but all his followers, in so far as they were left without the special and miraculous guidance of the Spirit, committed more or less of error. — This view of the subject frees it from many and most formidable difficulties. It assigns to the Saviour the *preëminence* which is justly due. It accounts for the mistakes and errors of his Apostles." *

We have now noticed the most important points, and the manner in which Mr. Cheever assails the book supposed to be reviewed. Having disposed of that, he occupies several pages in giving, himself, "a few principles of correct interpretation," of such a kind that we must be excused for speaking of them. We can hardly believe that their author wes serious in writing them down. Of all the words that we have ever seen, arranging themselves into sentences, and taking the name of "principles of interpretation," these are the strangest. If this man really holds and follows these rules, he has singular presumption verily in attempting to review other systems of interpretation, or pretending to be "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." There never was a system framed, which more completely threw out the authority of God's word, and put in its place the will, the reason, the carnal sense of man, in the work of interpretation. It is said, to be sure, after other principles, that "*God is his own interpreter; and we must be willing to let God's word interpret itself.*" (p. 18.) But that is wholly subverted by the very first "grand principle,"—"*The Bible should be interpreted in that manner which will most exalt God.*" (p. 13.) And

* Stuart's Commentary on Romans, pp. 78, 79.

again; — "The Bible should be interpreted, not only according to the whole character of God, from whom it emanated, but according *to the whole character of man, for whom it was intended.*" (p. 17.) So we are to form our ideas of the nature of God and the character of man, where we can, as we please, from churches, systems, and creeds, or from nature, reason, and our own passions, before we approach the Bible; and then bring these ideas with us as "principles of correct interpretation" of that sacred volume! Is not this marvellous in a man who talks as Mr. Cheever does about others? His former assertions are not a greater violation of good morals, than these of good sense and truth. If there is one professor in any of the respectable Orthodox institutions in this country, who, if he speak sincerely, will not pronounce such rules worse than foolish, we have much overrated the intelligence or fairness of that class of men. Vehement charges of "superficiality" and "cold-blooded infidelity," proceeding from one who can write thus for the instruction of others, have a tenfold aggravation. Seriously do we commend their author to self-examination, self-humiliation, study, and prayer. We believe he has sinned against God and man. We believe he has violated truth, charity, and common intelligence. We believe he has done that, which, if it were general, would break up society and religion; — certainly all good neighbourhood, generous emulation, and friendly or courteous discussion.

We have done with Mr. Cheever; but we wish to say a word of his patrons and friends, particularly the editors of "The Christian Spectator." We are surprised and mortified, to see *them* forfeiting the claims, which they have for some time been strengthening, to public confidence. Their course of late, with but few exceptions, has been far above every thing of this character, high-minded and Christian. We have read their pages with pleasure and profit. We simply ask them to consider what possible service they can render to learning or religion, to society, us, or themselves, by taking up the poor business of calling names, impugning motives, aspersing character, arraigning consciences, and dooming souls. Let them, and that portion of the community whom they serve, remember that Unitarians are men, that they have minds, that they have souls, and that their

rcligious character is a part of their moral character. We say nothing of equal rights; they may respect or sneer at them. We say nothing of human laws; let those also be violated, if they think it a light matter. But there are laws which they must respect, laws of God and Christ. If they have so much more than others of the fear of God before their eyes, let them, by all they reverence and all they would deprecate, refrain from calling those the enemies of God, who are seeking day by day to learn and do his will. If they have entered more deeply into the spirit of Christ, let them exhibit that spirit, and not brand as his betrayers and murderers, those who have sought and loved him as earnestly perhaps as themselves. Let them deliberate, before they denounce as infidels, and hypocrites, and demons, many whose lives and souls are engaged in the cause of Jesus. We say hypocrites and demons, for no less do they make us. If we are what they say, while we profess what we now do, we are hypocrites and demons. We mean exactly what we say. We know all do not really regard us as such; we doubt if any do in their hearts. But to this extent fully do their writings in regard to us, and much of their preaching and conversation, go. And it is time they religiously considered it. Unitarianism has grown up and gathered strength from this sort of opposition more than from the efforts of Unitarians themselves. It is not for ourselves, therefore, but for religion, we plead; for humanity, conscience, truth, and Christ. We may plead for Orthodoxy too. For if any thing can deprive us of all respect for that system, if any thing can extinguish or chill our love of many, very many who uphold it, or destroy our confidence and admiration of some of its principles and measures, — it will be the growing and at last irresistible conviction, that it does, of itself, contract the heart, deaden sympathy, embolden pride, and pardon, if it do not countenance and reward, that worst of spirits, which casts into the peaceful bosom of society and into the churches of God, "firebrands, arrows, and death."

ART. V. — *The True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church foretold by the Lord in Daniel* vii. 13, 14, *and in Revelation* xxi. 1, 2. By EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. A new Translation, from the Original Latin Edition, printed at Amsterdam in the year 1771. Boston: published by John Allen, School-Street. 1833.

MEN differ more in the tendency than in the degree of their intellectual powers. The inequalities of mental capacity among us are less than we are apt to suppose, but our habits of mind are infinitely various. One radical difference, absorbing all minor distinctions, may be considered as dividing all minds into two distinct classes, which, for want of a better designation, we shall call the *discursive* and the *profound*, * — those who glance *at* and *over* the objects of sense and intelligence, and those who look *into* and *beyond* them. Minds of the former class regard each object in its individual capacity, as a separate, independent existence, without considering the relation which it bears to other objects, or to some indwelling principle of which it is the exponent.

> "A primrose by the river's brim
> A yellow primrose is to them,
> And it is nothing more."

Such minds are ever prone to dwell on particulars, and are mostly incapable of generalizing. With them every truth is an insulated truth and stands upon its own foundation. Their knowledge is not a product of their own thinking, but is taken from others; it is received, not by process but by results, and is contained in formulas which they learn by rote. They are particularly fond of facts, for a knowledge of which they are often remarkable; and in controversy they are ever appealing to facts, using them not as expressions of a law, but as the foundation of a law, — regarding

* The word *profound* is not intended to designate a greater degree of intelligence than is implied in the other term, but simply a different tendency, — a tendency to look into and fathom. The word, *intuitive*, etymologically considered, would have better expressed our meaning, but that word is at present irrecoverably bound to a different signification.

them not according to their intrinsic, but according to their numerical value. A majority of facts, with them, decides every question. Their associations are not those of cause and effect, but of contiguity in space. According to the phrenologists, "locality" and "individuality" should be strongly marked in them. They make therefore good chronologers, excellent geographers, and lexicographers. In one word, persons of this class are generally excellent practical workmen, distinguished in secular matters for their good sense and ready wit. In religion they are apt to regard the letter rather than the spirit. The same tendency which disposes them to dwell on particulars, as above stated, leads them also to sensualize, to interpret the doctrines of revelation in their lowest sense, to lay undue stress upon forms, &c. They are at once credulous and incredulous, placing implicit confidence in the testimony of the majority, and very little in the testimony of individuals. Their religion is a matter of tradition and not a generation, or rather a regeneration, of the spirit within.

Unlike these, in all the abovementioned particulars, are the minds of that other class which we have denominated the profound. They view every thing in the light of some pervading law which is at once the cause and the end of its being. They regard all phenomena as the representatives of certain "*noumena.*" Not content with the result, they endeavour to fathom the cause. Facts are of no value to them except as the expressions of some normal principle; and the whole sensible world is considered important only as the manifestation of that intelligible world, whose laws it is the business of their lives to study and to trace. To this class of minds the world is principally indebted for its philosophers and discoverers; and as the same propensity which leads to discoveries in the natural world, when carried beyond that world and applied to spiritual objects, seeks to fathom all mysteries, and to search out those hidden things of the spirit which God has not revealed to man,—so it generally happens that minds of this class, in metaphysics and in religion, become *mystics*. We would fain rescue this word from the low and almost reproachful sense in which we fear it is generally understood. By the term *mystic* we understand not merely or necessarily a teacher of obscure doctrines, much less an obscure thinker; we understand by

it a true philosopher, one who is actuated by an honorable, albeit a vain desire to extend the bounds of human knowledge, in that direction which, though of all others the most inviting to a profound mind, is looked upon by the many as the way of darkness, and perchance of madness. To this class of minds belongs the distinguished individual whose name we have placed at the head of this article, and to whose character and claims as a religious teacher we now wish to call the attention of our readers.

In order to determine more precisely the rank which Swedenborg holds in the circle of kindred spirits, it will be necessary to distinguish three degrees or stages of mysticism, all of which are to be considered as successive developements of the same principle. The first stage is, when the brooding mind, ascending from forms to principles, and from the visible manifestation to the invisible power, first begins to spiritualize nature, and loses itself in the contemplation of one pervading intelligence, which, itself infinite, possesses every form of finite being, and constitutes the life and essence of all created things; — when, not content with knowing the obvious relations and powers of animate and inanimate beings, or the obvious meaning of revealed truth, it seeks to interpret all things in conformity with its own spiritual views. This is *contemplative* mysticism; it may be compared to the first budding of a noble plant, it is the vine in its blossom, the fresh bloom and early fragrance of a visionary mind. Such was the mysticism of Plato and Pythagoras among the ancients, of St. Austin and others in the early ages of Christianity, of Jacob Boehm, and the Quietists in later times. The second stage is, when the mind returns again from the universal to the particular, from abstract essences to determinate forms, and, leaving the contemplation of the one, endeavours to deduce the many, — when, having annihilated the creations of sense, — the crude conceptions of its childhood, it devises a creation of its own, and constructs, on principles more ethereal, new theories of nature and new systems of religion. This is *constructive* mysticism, the plant in production, the vine hung with full clusters of rich, ripe fruit. Of this kind was the mysticism of those eastern sages, whose names have come down to us as founders of certain mystic sects, — of Hermes in Egypt, of Zoroaster in Persia, of Budha in India, &c.

Such was the mysticism of the ancient Essenes, of the Alexandrian philosophers, of the Gnostics, and of the Fathers of the Greek Church. * Thus far mysticism appears as an innocent, if not as a very profitable employment of the mental powers; if it never went beyond this, we might regard it as an aberration indeed, but certainly a very harmless aberration. But there is another stage in the progress of this principle, of a very different, and, as it appears to us, a very dangerous character. That stage occurs, when mysticism becomes enthusiasm, when the mind, having completed its creative process, solved all its problems, and constructed its theory of temporal and spiritual things, grows dissatisfied with intellectual intuitions, and burns to express itself in outward acts, — when, according to the nature of its doctrine, it either disjoins itself from the mother church and riots in ascetic enormities, or inflamed with the fierce zeal of proselytism waxes intolerant of received opinions, and snatching the sword of persecution attempts to force its heresies upon the world. This is *practical* mysticism, — the plant in its manufactured produce, the fruit divorced from the vine, pressed and fermented into a maddening wine. Such is the character of the self-torturing, self-destroying mystics on the banks of the Ganges. Of this character was the mysticism of those Christian madmen of the fourth and fifth centuries, the followers of Simeon Stylites, who, with the hope of drawing nearer to God, devoted themselves to a life of wretchedness and pain. Such was also the mysticism of the religious proselyting zealots under Cromwell's reign, and to the same class belong most of the fanatics of our own day.

The founder of the "New Church," as that heresy is usually called, was a visionary of the second class, a constructive mystic. He was, we rejoice to say, no fanatic, nor is there any thing of enthusiasm in his doctrine: if there were, we should view with serious alarm its increasing prevalence among us, believing as we do, that every species of enthusiasm is hostile to the peace and progress of society. The small but increasing band, who for half a century have followed "this way" in the old and in the new world, have

* The love of mysticism appears to have been a distinguishing trait of the Greek Church. The Latin Fathers, with the exception of Austin, discover little or nothing of this tendency.

thus far been uniformly known as a quiet, unobtrusive sect, seeking nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their faith, and willingly allowing the same privilege to others. Silent, indeed, they have not been, but from time to time, as they were moved thereto, they have given utterance to the hope that was in them. "Having that spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believe and therefore speak," they have believed and therefore spoken. They have spoken, not from the love of controversy, but from the quick promptings of a lively faith, — not in bitterness of spirit stirring up strife, but either in self-defence, endeavouring with soft words to turn away wrath, or in well-timed exposition of such parts of their system as might induce others to seek a more perfect knowledge of that way. Such prophesyings it is impossible to despise: on the contrary, in these days of "sounding brass" and "tinkling cymbals," when charity itself, or that which is called charity, "vaunteth itself" and "behaveth unseemly," — in this sad confusion of tongues, this loud tumult of angry hissings and railing accusations, it is pleasant to hear at intervals, even though it were in defence of error, the words of a meek and quiet spirit. They are an ornament to any sect, an ornament of great price, and at present a very rare ornament. Among the few who are thus adorned in these days, the disciples of the New Jerusalem hold a distinguished rank. We have felt ourselves constrained to bear this testimony concerning them, and we do it cheerfully. It will not, of course, be supposed that, because we commend their spirit, we are therefore converts to their doctrine; thus much however we will confess, that beholding such a spirit has induced us to give a degree of attention to their doctrine, which otherwise we should not have given.

The work before us, entitled "The True Christian Religion," contains a full exposition of the New Church Theology. It is a faithful translation from the Latin of Swedenborg, by one of his disciples in this region. A more comprehensive body of divinity is not to be found in any work of the same compass, excepting the New Testament. We regard this as a very important publication. For the value of a work of this kind depends not so much on the character of the opinions it contains, as on the extent of their circulation. A system of belief which has won the assent of *many* thinking minds, deserves, in virtue of that

circumstance, the attention of *all* thinking minds; and a book which is received by the adherents of such a system as a correct exhibition of their faith must ever be regarded as an important book, whether the doctrines it teaches are true or false. It is not however of this book, particularly, that we wish, at present, to speak, but of the general character of that theosophy of which this work was the final product. And first, — since every doctrine derives some illustration from the life of its author, (the practical and speculative parts of a man's existence being mutually explanatory of each other, as correlative manifestations of the same spirit,) — first, let us turn to Swedenborg himself. We shall present in as concise a review as possible, the most striking points in his history.*

Emanuel, son of Jasper Svedberg, bishop of Skara, in West Gothland, was born at Stockholm in 1688. To those who are curious in the geography of opinions it may seem somewhat remarkable, that the north should have produced the greatest mystic that Christianity has ever known, and that the religion which entered Europe at its south-eastern extremity should have received at the extreme northwest its most perfect philosophical developement. The date of Swedenborg's birth corresponds with that of Sweden's greatest glory. The destructive wars of Charles XII. had not yet destroyed the prosperity acquired by the peaceful labors of his predecessors, and the course of science which had long ago assumed a northwestern direction, appears to have found in that country its natural limit, and, after enriching every land in its progress with the elements of carnal knowledge, to have deposited here a seed of spiritual philosophy as the crowning token of its fertilizing power.

The education which Svedberg received from his father, who was himself somewhat addicted to mysticism, exercised such a marked influence over his young mind, that it was said of him while a child: "*Angels speak through his mouth.*" Notwithstanding these early impressions, however, it was not as a religious teacher that Swedenborg first appeared to the world, the greater portion of a long life was devoted to pursuits of a very different character. Having

* The facts in the following account are selected principally from the notice contained in the "Biographie Universelle."

finished his studies with honor at the University of Upsal, he published, at the age of twenty-one, a collection of the choice maxims of antiquity: "L. Annæi Senecæ et P. Syrii Mimi forsan et aliorum Selectæ Sententiæ, &c. Upsal. 1709." This first literary effort discovered a decided taste for learning, and gained its author some credit. In the following year Swedenborg put forth a work of a different character, a collection of Latin verses entitled "Ludus Heliconius," &c., in which he displayed considerable imagination and much vivacity of sentiment. During the same year he left his native country and visited the different universities of Germany, Holland, and England, in order to perfect himself in the study of mathematics, for which he had conceived a passionate liking. Having returned from this tour, he published a series of essays on that science and on physics in the form of a periodical journal, which he called "Dædalus Hyperboreus," (Six numbers. Stockholm. 1716—1718.) The celebrity which this work acquired was the means of introducing him to Charles XII. with whom he had several interviews, relative, as De Cluny supposes, to the new sexagesimal calculus invented by that prince. Charles, finding him to be a man of uncommon talents, made him assessor to the Board of Mines. In this important post Swedenborg discovered great inventive powers and a perfect knowledge of all that belonged to his department. In 1718, he invented certain rolling-machines, by means of which he conveyed two galleys and five large shallops, used for transporting cannon during the siege of Frederickshall, over mountains and valleys, from Strömstadt to Idefjal, a distance of five leagues. In the midst of these occupations he published several treatises on scientific subjects, to wit: "An Introduction to Algebra," 1717. "An Essay for Determining the value of Swedish Coins," 1719. "A Treatise concerning the Position and Movements of the Heavenly Bodies," and one concerning "Tides," in the course of the same year. After the death of Charles XII. Swedenborg enjoyed great favor with the Queen Ulrica Eleonora, who raised him to the rank of nobility, changing his name at the same time from Svedberg to Svedenborg or Swedenborg. In 1720 he visited the mines of Sweden, and the following year, those of Saxony and the Hartz Mountains in Germany. Here he received marks of distinction from every quarter,

and particularly from the Duke of Brunswick, who took a lively interest in his researches. It is a remarkable fact, and proves an astonishing degree of intellectual fecundity in our author, that during this tour he published seven scientific works, six while in Sweden, and one while in Germany. The subjects of these works are as follows: "An Application of Geometry to Chemistry and Experimental Physics"; "New Discoveries concerning Fire and Iron, with a New Form of Chimneys"; "New Method of finding Longitude by means of the Moon"; "Method of Constructing Vessels"; "New Construction of Sluices"; "Method of Proving the Qualities of Vessels"; "Summary of Observations on Natural Objects, especially Minerals, Fire, and the Beds of Mountains." These works procured for their author the offer of a professorial chair in the University of Upsal. But these were only the prelude to a great work entitled, "Opera Philosophica et Mineralogica." (3 vols. fol., illustrated by 155 engravings. 1734.) In this work Swedenborg proposed and unfolded an entirely new theory of Nature, according to which all the secondary powers that move the visible world, all the forms of activity distributed through the elements, magnetism, ether, the gases, &c., are emanations from one central point, different manifestations of the same primitive power.* That part which relates to metallurgy was considered by far the best treatise on the subject at that time. This work produced a great sensation. The Royal Academy of Petersburg hastened to make our author a member of their Society. He had already been elected an honorary member of the Academy at Stockholm in 1729, and the Academy of Arts and Sciences at Paris conferred perhaps a greater honor by translating for its "Histoire des Arts et Métiers" the treatise on Iron, contained in the "Opera Philosophica," as the most satisfactory work on that subject. During the same year, Swedenborg published an Essay on Speculative Philosophy, concerning the Infinite, the Final Cause of Creation, and the Mechanism of the Union between Soul and Body. (Dresden. 8vo.) In this work, the premonitory symptoms of our author's

* This theory constructed, says the "Biographie Universelle," "avec toute la rigueur des mathématiques," is applied to organized as well as to unorganized matter.

mysticism begin to appear, but, says his biographer "l'heure n'était pas encore arrivée." Another journey, undertaken for the purpose of establishing his system of natural science, carried Swedenborg through England, Holland, France, and Italy. The year 1738, was spent at Venice and at Rome, after which, two more works, his "Œconomia Regni Animalis," and his "Regnum Animale Perlustratum," in three volumes, completed the developement of his theory of Nature.

And here Swedenborg's career as a natural philosopher closes. Had his life terminated here also, were nothing more known of him than what has now been exhibited, it would be impossible to deny him a fair title to the gratitude of his contemporaries and the admiration of posterity. Enough had been done to secure him the reputation of a distinguished philosopher. The merit of having introduced the differential calculus into Sweden, together with the service which he rendered to metallurgy, were alone sufficient to perpetuate his name in the annals of science. But fame of another and a more enduring kind was in store for him. The character of a prophet, the founder of a religious sect, a professed ambassador of God, the highest to which human ambition has ever aspired, is that in which we are henceforth to regard him. We have dwelt at length on the preceding portion of Swedenborg's life, and have been somewhat particular in our mention of his philosophical works, in order to present as clear a view, as possible, of the progress of this extraordinary mind from the lowest grades of natural science up to the very confines of the spiritual world, and to show to those of our readers who know him only as a mystic, that he did not belong to the vulgar class of ignorant and uneducated mystics. We would willingly allow him all the claims which can be derived from the character of an eminent philosopher and a learned man. Now having, as it were, exhausted the visible world, at the age of fifty-nine, Swedenborg bade adieu to science and gave himself up to communion with the invisible. Pretending to have had revelations from God which called him to other pursuits, he resigned his office in the mining college (the salary of which, however, was continued to him as a pension), and retired from the world. From this time forth, a mystery hangs over Swedenborg's life, which no one has ever been able wholly to penetrate. Although occupying a humble

dwelling in a retired part of Stockholm, he appeared suddenly to have at his disposal an immense fortune. For he was known at this time to have relieved and supported a number of commercial houses by benefactions which amounted to several millions of money.* Those who visited him at his house were often obliged to wait long for admittance. At one time the learned Doctor was wrapt in a profound meditation, which must not be disturbed; at another he was engaged in conference with the illustrious dead, whom it would not do to dismiss abruptly. With no occupation but to see and converse with spirits, or to record celestial revelations, Swedenborg now devoted himself entirely to the duties of that divine mission with which he conceived himself charged. From this time till his death, a period of twenty-four years, he labored with indefatigable industry in the exposition and propagation of the doctrines which this mission called him to teach. Seventeen works in Latin, (some of them very extensive), published at his own expense, comprise the result of these labors. These works excited great attention and found many believers, by whom their author was regarded with sentiments of profound veneration. Indeed, so rapidly did his authority and doctrine spread, that the Swedish clergy, alarmed at the prevalence of a theology which threatened to overthrow many of their favorite dogmas, began to think seriously of opposition. At their request, a committee was appointed to examine these heretical books, and to decide upon the tendency of the Swedenborgian doctrine. The report of this committee was more favorable than might have been expected. Swedenborg's writings were tolerated; but, warned by this event, he became more reserved in the communication of his doctrines, and more cautious in the choice of his disciples, trusting himself only to a favored few in whom he saw sufficient evidence of good faith. His works were not published in Sweden, but whenever he had completed a treatise on

* The money which Swedenborg expended in this manner is said to have been furnished him by a certain Elias Artita, a mysterious personage of low extraction, who had contrived to make himself master of a great deal of recondite knowledge, and of a gigantic fortune. He wrote a treatise on the philosopher's stone, which the adepts consider as a *chef-d'œuvre* of their science. See *Biographie Universelle*, art. *Swedenborg*.

any subject, he immediately set out for London or Amsterdam, and there put it to the press. It was during one of these journeys that he was seized with a stroke of apoplexy which in three months terminated his earthly existence. He died at London on the 29th of March, 1772, at the age of eighty-four. Until the year of his death he had enjoyed uninterrupted health, and retained in full vigor his bodily and mental powers. Little is known of Swedenborg's private character, or of the relations which he sustained to society. The most that can be found relative to these matters, is contained in his eulogy pronounced before the Royal Academy at Stockholm, by Mr. Saudel, counsellor to the mining college, October 7th, 1772. He is uniformly represented as dignified and simple, yet courteous and affable in his manners, and as irreproachable in his morals. In society, his frank and easy deportment, the self-forgetfulness with which he entered into every conversation, and the freedom with which he conversed on every topic, forbade alike the suspicion of enthusiasm or of charlatanry. Though he led a single life, he appears to have been fond of social intercourse, and to have attained a full and happy developement of his social affections. Few, if we may judge from the number and extent of his writings,* have been more industrious, few have devoted themselves with a more consistent zeal to the cause of truth and human improvement.

So much for the life and personality of this wonderful man. The task which our subject next imposes upon us, is the delicate and somewhat difficult one of determining the validity of Swedenborg's claims to divine inspiration. We call it a difficult task, not because we have any doubts ourselves on this subject, but because it is always difficult, after having formed one's own judgment, to do justice to the

* The titles of Swedenborg's philosophical works have been mentioned above. The following is a list of his theological writings. 1. "De Cultu et Amore Dei." 2. "Arcana Cœlestia." 8 vols. 4to. 3. "De Cœlo et Inferno." 4. "De Ultimo Judicio." 5. "De Equo Albo in Apocalypsi." 6. "De Telluribus in Mundo Nostro." 7. "De Novâ Hierosolymâ." 8. "De Amore Conjugali." 9. "De Divino Amore et Divinâ Sapientiâ." 10. "Doctrina Nov. Hier. de Domino." 11. "Doctrina Vitæ pro Nov. Hier." 12. "Continuatio de Ult. Jud." 13. "De Divinâ Providentiâ." 14. "Apocalypsis Revelata." 15. "Summaria Expositio Doctrinæ Nov. Eccles." 16. "De Commercio Animæ et Corporis." 17. "Vera Christiana Religio."

evidence adduced by those who have come to different conclusions. We have first to determine the kind and degree of inspiration claimed by Swedenborg, and allowed him by his disciples. Of the latter, some, with an apparent anxiety to qualify the pretensions of their master, have been careful to speak of him, not as a revealer, but as an interpreter of divine truth. But this distinction appears to us nugatory. Every revelation is, in one sense, an interpretation. The Word existed from all eternity, it was "that true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." The Mosaic law was a typical interpretation of that word, Christianity was a divine interpretation of that law, and what does the New Church doctrine claim to be, but a divine interpretation of Christianity? The question is, not as to the object, but as to the authority, — not what Swedenborg was commissioned to do, but whether he was, in any peculiar and sacred sense, divinely commissioned to do any thing. Again, as to the term *inspiration*, — the author of a pamphlet lately published in defence of the New Church, a writer of some authority in these matters, says "The members of the New Church are not accustomed to speak of the writings of Swedenborg as *inspired*. Swedenborg does not thus speak of his works, — that term is most properly applied to such writings as were dictated by the Lord without any modification by the rational and voluntary operation of the minds of the writers. Those who wrote the Word * wrote from inspiration. Swedenborg, the Apostles, and some others wrote from illustration or illumination of the mind by heavenly light. *Swedenborg wrote from more full illustration than even the Apostles.*" † This is enough. A higher degree of illumination than was granted to the Apostles! This is claiming a great deal, if the common notion of Apostolic inspiration is correct. It appears then, that Mr. Worcester considers the term inspiration as applicable to such books only, as were dictated by God without any human modification, and that Swedenborg does not speak of his works as inspired in this sense. Let us see how this corresponds with his own

* The New Church does not regard all the books which belong to our canon as parts of the *Word*.

† See "Remarks on several Common Errors respecting the Works of Swedenborg, &c., by Samuel Worcester."

words. In a letter to Robzam, prefixed to one of his works, after describing the manner in which his calling was first made known to him, he represents the Deity as addressing him in the following language: — "I the Lord, Creator and Redeemer, have chosen thee to explain to men the internal and spiritual sense of the sacred Scriptures; I shall *dictate* to thee *what thou must write.*"

Either Mr. Worcester and Swedenborg have different notions of inspiration, or else the latter *does* claim to be inspired in the highest and truest sense of the word.* We will add two more extracts illustrative of his pretensions. The first is from the introduction to the work on *Conjugal Love.* "I foresee that many, who read the following treatise and the relations after the chapters, will believe that they are inventions of the imagination; but I assert in truth that they are not inventions, but were truly seen and heard; not seen and heard in any state of the mind buried in sleep, but in a state of full wakefulness. For it has pleased the Lord to manifest himself to me, and to send me to teach those things which will be of his New Church, which is meant by the New Jerusalem in the Revelation; for which end, He has opened the interior of my mind and spirit, by which it has been given to me to be in the spiritual world with angels, and at the same time in the natural world with men, and this now for twenty years." * The other extract is from the "Concluding Relation" of "The True Christian Religion." "After this I saw some ascending from below, whence those things were heard, who addressing me in a grave tone said, 'Why did your Lord reveal those secrets, which you have just enumerated, to you who are a layman and not to some of the clergy?' To which I answered that this was according to the good pleasure of the Lord, who prepared me for this

* Prævideo quod multi, qui legunt sequentia hæc et memorabilia post capita, creditur sint quod sint imaginationis inventa; sed asseveró in veritate quod non sint inventa, sed vere facta et visa! nec visa in quodam statu mentis sopitæ, sed in statu plenæ vigiliæ: placuit enim Domino seipsum mihi manifestare et *me mittere ad docendum* illa quæ erunt Novæ Ecclesiæ, quæ per Novam Hierosolymam in Apocalypsi intelligitur; propter quem finem interiora mentis et spiritûs mei aperuit; ex quo mihi datum est in Mundo Spirituali cum angelis esse et simul in Mundo Naturali cum hominibus, et hoc nunc per viginti annos. [See a repetition of this in the "True Christian Religion." p. 548.]

office from my earliest youth. But yet I will ask you in return, Why did the Lord when he was in the world, choose fishermen for his disciples and not some of the lawyers, scribes, priests, or rabbies? Discuss this among yourselves and conclude from judgment and you will discover the reason."

Enough has been said, we trust, to show the nature of the authority which the New Church claims for the founder of its faith. It is strictly a *divine* authority, an inspiration differing in nothing from that which a Jew would claim for Moses, and greater even, than that which some Christians ascribe to the Saviour. Such claims require stronger evidence for their support, than we have as yet been able to discover for the divine legation of Swedenborg. A fellow mystic may think it sufficient, if he finds a perfect correspondence between his prophet's visions and his own; and this we suspect is the true secret of the Swedenborgian's faith. But for those who have learned to distrust their own imaginings and to confide more in the general sense of mankind, who judge from grounds of universal reason and yield conviction only to rational, tangible, and demonstrable evidence, —for such, something more is necessary than a coincidence of dreams. Neither the historical nor the intrinsic proofs of Swedenborg's mission appear to us to have much weight. The historical argument is by far the stronger of the two, but history alone can never establish the truth of a doctrine; much less the genuineness of a revelation, for the latter depends upon the former. That only can be revealed which is essentially true, but a revelation is not given except it is absolutely necessary; a doctrine which requires to be revealed, therefore, must be one which is not discoverable, or not sufficiently enforced, by human reason. Nevertheless it must be such a one as human reason is competent to approve when revealed, and does in its right state readily approve; for without the consent of reason there can be no truth for man. Accordingly the ultimate test of every revelation, *even in a speculative point of view*,* must be its intrinsic evidence,

* We have emphasized these words on account of an important distinction which we have in view between speculative evidence or that which is addressed to reason, and practical or that which is addressed to the moral sense and confirmed by moral experience. The former is of comparatively little value, the latter is the only true test of revealed truth.

the consent of reason to the truth of a doctrine not discoverable, or not urged with a sufficient sanction, until revealed. Historical evidence is important only as a source of collateral confirmation; it is to revelation what experience is to scientific discovery, a corroboration but not a proof, the seal but not the substance of a prophet's credentials. Even miracles, considered as historical evidence, are of comparatively little value. We believe the miracles wrought by Christ to be historically true, but our faith does not rest on that ground. Those miracles were wrought for a people so hardened in sensual views of religion, as to be incapable of understanding any evidence but that of outward signs. As Mr. Coleridge has observed with wonderful acuteness, "it was to destroy the authority usurped by the senses, that the senses were miraculously appealed to." Since the establishment of Christianity, in Christian lands *this* use of miracles no longer exists, but they have another use which still continues. They have an internal value, infinitely greater than their historical value, a moral meaning and a moral dignity which in our estimation constitute the most important part of the internal evidence for the truth of Christianity. Miracles are appealed to by the followers of Swedenborg, as historical proofs of the divine authority of their doctrine. Four instances in particular are related, of wonders performed by him through means of his intercourse with the spiritual world, which they suppose indicative of miraculous power. First, he is said to have related to Louisa Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, at her request, the substance of a conversation between herself and her brother, Prince of Prussia then deceased, which, since his decease, could be known to no living person but herself. Secondly, he is said to have discovered to Madame Marteville, widow of a Dutch envoy at Stockholm, a lost receipt, by means of a consultation with her deceased husband. Thirdly, he is said to have given notice at Gottenburg, of a destructive fire then raging at Stockholm (a distance of nearly three hundred miles), pointing out its origin, progress, the moment when and the place where it stopped, all which was verified even to the minutest point, three days afterward, by the arrival of a royal express. The fourth instance relates to something which took place between Swedenborg and Mr. John Wesley, once his admirer, but afterward a bitter enemy. As this anecdote is less known

than the rest, we shall give it more at length. It is contained in the following extract from Noble's "Appeal in behalf of the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem."

"Among Mr. Wesley's preachers in the year 1772, was the late Mr. Smith, a man of great piety and integrity, who afterward became one of the first ministers in our church. Having heard a curious anecdote said to rest on his authority, I wrote to Mr. Hawkins, the well-known engineer, who had been intimately acquainted with Mr. Smith, to request an exact account of it. The following is a part of his reply, dated February 6, 1826.

"'Dear Sir, — In answer to your inquiries, I am able to state that I have a clear recollection of having repeatedly heard the Rev. Samuel Smith say about the year 1787 or '88, that in the latter end of February, 1772, he with some other preachers was in attendance upon the Rev. John Wesley, taking instructions and assisting him in preparations for his great circuit, which Mr. Wesley was about to commence; that, while thus in attendance, a letter came to Mr. Wesley, which he perused with evident astonishment; that after a pause he read the letter to the company; and that it was couched in nearly the following words:

"'"Sir, — I have been informed in the world of spirits, that you have a strong desire to converse with me; I shall be happy to see you, if you will favor me with a visit. I am, Sir, your humble servant, EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

"'"*Great Bath Street, Cold Bath Fields, Feb.* 1772."'"

"'Mr. Wesley frankly acknowledged to the company that he had been very strongly impressed with a desire to see and converse with Swedenborg, and that he had never mentioned that desire to any one. He wrote in answer, that he was then closely occupied with preparing for a six months' journey, but would do himself the pleasure of waiting upon Mr. Swedenborg soon after his return to London. Mr. Smith further informed me that he afterwards learned from very good authority, that Swedenborg wrote in reply that the visit proposed by Mr. Wesley would be too late, as he, Swedenborg, should go into the world of spirits on the 29th day of the next month, never more to return. Mr. Wesley went the circuit and on his return was informed of the fact that Swedenborg had departed this life on the 29th of March preceding. That Mr. Smith was a man of undoubted veracity can be testified by several persons now living besides myself; the fact therefore that such a correspondence did take place between the Hon. Eman. Sweden-

borg and the Rev. John Wesley, is established on the best authority. I feel it my duty to accede to your request and allow my name to appear as your immediate voucher. I remain, Dear Sir, yours very sincerely

"'JOHN ISAAC HAWKINS.'"

Such are the principal facts recorded of Swedenborg in attestation of his miraculous powers. After as careful an examination, as our means would allow, of the evidence on which these facts rest, we are inclined to believe them substantially true. Of the first mentioned and the fourth, — that which relates to the Queen of Sweden, and that which relates to Wesley, — we have scarcely any doubt. But these facts are far from having that kind and degree of evidence which would make them valid in the estimation of mankind at large, as historical proofs; and they have nothing at all of that moral significancy which gives to the miracles of the New Testament such an overwhelming weight of probability. Nor are we at all disposed to allow that these facts, supposing them to be true, are proofs of miraculous power. The natural powers of man have never been and never can be accurately defined. Among these powers is that mysterious and omnipotent principle of *faith*, of which such great things are predicated in the Scriptures, and which even the ancient Egyptians supposed to give to their prayers a compulsory power over Gods and spirits.* What our Saviour said on this subject is doubtless to be understood in a qualified sense and with a particular reference to his immediate disciples; but in all that Christ has said, there is, we believe, a universal meaning not exhausted by the particular application which it bore at the time it was uttered, — and this we conceive to be especially true of that memorable saying concerning the power of faith; we consider it not as a mere figure of speech, an oriental hyperbole, but as a great practical truth, applicable to all ages and to all conditions of men. Swedenborg's miraculous achievements, after all, imply nothing more than an intercourse with spirits, and that we are in some way connected with the spiritual world seems highly probable; not only with that great spirit whose relations to us are coëxtensive with the whole compass of our being, but with inferior spirits nearer our own degree.

* See Heinroth's Geschichte des Mysticismus.

There are many reasons which might lead us to suppose this; we will merely glance at one. It is well known that in the material world God works by means of second causes, and through the ministry of subordinate agents. For every effect that is produced in nature, for every result that is brought about in the kingdoms of organized or unorganized matter, many secondary powers are put in motion. In order that the seed may spring up from the bosom of the earth in which it is deposited, and yield its increase, the earth must give it nourishment, the sun and the rain must minister to it by turns, and many secret agents, unnoticed by the common eye, must coöperate to unfold and sustain it through the various stages of its progressive life. And so it is in all the operations of nature; in none of them does God work by a single word or by a simple and immediate act of his will, but he employs the coöperating agency of many means. In every manifestation of his Providence, the Divine Power is represented by some finite power. And why may it not be so in the spiritual world? If, between us and the clod beneath our feet, there are innumerable orders of beings descending in regular gradation from an intelligent spirit to the lowest zoöphyte, — each order dependent upon all the rest, and ministering to all the rest, — is it not reasonable to suppose, that between us and the Supreme Intelligence there may be, also, numberless orders of spiritual beings, ascending in regular gradation from one degree of perfection to another, — some, departed spirits once inhabitants of this world, and some, angelic natures which were never clothed in clay, — and that we may be dependent on the various orders in this upward process as well as upon those beneath us, that they may minister to us as well as these? May not God operate upon our minds by means of unseen spiritual agents, as he operates upon other parts of creation through the agency of man? We have often thought that such an agency might best account for those secret suggestions, those sudden flashes of thought, those momentary inspirations of joy, of hope, of holy resolution, and all those subtile and nameless influences which cannot be traced to any antecedent cause, but which exercise such mysterious sway over our feelings and our actions. Many of those sympathies which bind us to our fellow-men, are also common to us and other orders of being. We have, in common

with them, those momentous truths which relate to God and eternity. For it cannot be that there are two kinds of intelligence; it must be one and the same universal reason that pervades and informs all orders of being, from intelligent man up to the highest archangel, who draws instruction from the very fountain of truth, and reads the words of life as they are written in the mind of God. We have also, in common with other spirits, the same relations to a moral law, we have the same moral obligations, we are accountable to the same judge, we are connected with them as fellow-disciples of the same word, and as joint heirs of the same kingdom. But this connexion is a matter of speculation and not of consciousness; can it ever be sensibly realized? That it cannot be realized by means of the *senses*, reason and experience are alike agreed. And it is well for us that it is so; it is well that we are not admitted to a visible intercourse with the inhabitants of that shadowy land. If it were so, we should soon become abstracted from all worldly interests, and give ourselves entirely up to the seductions of a spiritual world. In every breeze that sighed around our dwellings we should fancy we heard a spirit's voice; every uncertain image that floated before us in the dimness of twilight, would assume the form of some departed friend. The concerns of this life would gradually lose their importance, earthly relations would be neglected, earthly duties forgotten, and our usefulness, as it respects this world, would be at an end. Nevertheless, who shall say that a sensible connexion of some kind between us and the world of spirits is impossible? Who shall say that human faith and the human will, those mighty agents, may not have power to bring us into a closer and a conscious union with the inhabitants of that world, and that one possessing these principles in a high degree may not master the conditions of such a union, and so avail himself of them as to apply them to the practical purposes of life?

Be this as it may, we are confident that the wonders performed by Swedenborg, will some day be found to admit of a natural solution. Meanwhile, it should be observed, that these miracles, so called, differ widely, not only in degree, but in kind, from the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, to which alone that term is strictly applicable. Those were effects produced in the natural world, — effects such as were

never witnessed before, and produced by a simple effort of the will, without the aid of secondary causes or any intermediate agent. Swedenborg's, on the contrary, consisted merely in the display of extraordinary knowledge, — knowledge which, it is supposed, could be obtained only by an intercourse with invisible spirits. Which of these two implies the greater power, we leave it for our readers to decide: whether it is easier to divine the secret thoughts of a human breast, or to command, by a word, the secret powers of nature, whether it is easier to converse with the dead or to raise the dead, whether it is easier to foretell natural events, or both to foretell and to bring about events transcending the powers of nature and unexampled in the whole course of time. Many are the wonders which human philosophy has not yet explained; those recorded of Swedenborg are not more marvellous than many others. We are surrounded with mysteries. Life itself, and that subtile power by which the living thought acts on lifeless matter, by which intelligence moulds nature to its purpose, are secrets which human sense can never fathom. Mysterious processes are going on at every moment; their results are before us, but their beginning and direction no eye can trace, their number and their reach no thought can measure. These are the noiseless and unsearchable steps of a Power that walketh in darkness and worketh unseen. This Power, in its ordinary operations, attracts no notice; but at times, as if to remind us of its reality and unceasing presence, it varies its wonted course, and then strange phenomena appear; we are made conscious of a present God, and we say that Providence has come near to us, or, if the human will happens to have taken a direction which coincides with these exceptions in nature, we cry, "A miracle!" The limits which divide the possible from the actual are so ill-defined, that it is impossible to say where the one begins and where the other ends. Both are but different aspects of the same Power. That Power is one, but it manifests itself in a duality. The infinite reflects itself, and forms an antithesis in the finite. This antithesis however is not ordinarily apparent; the two blend together and operate as one, like the electric fluid before it has been resolved into its opposite polarities. Hence the common operations of nature, which, because they *are* common, we deem not mysterious, but refer to the single action of the

finite. But there are moments when this unity is dissolved, when the infinite and the finite appear separate and distinct. This takes place whenever those powers, which hover between the two, and form, as it were, a connecting link, seeming alternately to partake of the nature of each, — the human will, the human imagination, &c. — whenever these powers are strongly and unusually moved. All that is marvellous in human life occurs at such times, arising at the point of junction between the infinite and the finite, the possible and the actual in the human mind. As at the meeting of night and day, new and strange colors appear in the heavens, — as the rainbow is formed at the junction of light and shade, — so at the resolution of this antithesis, midway between these two powers, on the confines of the ideal and the actual world, there lies a region of prodigies, and chimeras, and strange fantastic visions. To this place belong all kinds of portents, apparitions, and omens, fufilment of dreams, coincidences, the marvels of animal magnetism, the effects of maternal imagination upon the unborn, and all those unclassed and unexplained phenomena which make up the world's book of wonders. To this category we refer the miracles of Swedenborg, and we are not without hope that the time is near for the discovery of some central principle, which, serving as the basis of a new science, shall connect together these disjointed fragments and mould them into one harmonious and intelligible body of truth.

Another item in the historical evidence for the divine authority of Swedenborg, is the continuance ever since his time, and the growing prevalence of a sect professing his doctrine and receiving him as a messenger from God. This circumstance certainly has some weight, but every one must see that it would be dangerous to allow it much. If the reception of a doctrine be a test of its truth, if the prevalence of a name be a test of divine authority, then the Catholic faith has higher claims than the Protestant, then the Koran is more true than the Gospel, and there is better evidence that Mahomet came forth from God to bind the world in chains, than that Christ was sent to redeem it. A better argument for the authority of this doctrine may be derived, we think, from its effects on the character of those who receive it. Whether it be owing to the direct influence

of their faith, or to the operation of prudential motives, or to the fact that this religion is not adapted to attract any but spiritually-minded men, certain it is, that the disciples of the New Church, as a body, have generally exhibited a more consistent holiness in their lives and conversation than any sect with which we are acquainted, and this notwithstanding a laxity on one point in their moral code, which might seem to authorize an occasional deviation from the strict line of rectitude. And not only so, but this church is also marked by an onward tendency, a progressive spirit, too often wanting in sects of higher pretensions. The propulsive elements of Christianity, liberty, charity, and truth are largely mixed up with their system. They are not a sect who suppose that religion is got by spasms, or that Christ is formed within by one convulsive effort of the soul. Their religion is not one which stops short at any given standard; it is of that kind which maketh wiser and better every day. They are pre-eminently an improving sect. But is this improvement the fruit of some new revelation, or is it the natural fruit of the Gospel? Is it of Swedenborg, or is it of Christ? We believe the latter. It may be that the New Church exhibits Christianity in a purer form, — that it contains a greater amount of truth and a smaller alloy of error than other sects; but does this imply a divine interposition? Is it any proof of inspiration? If such excellence really distinguishes their system, it can be but comparative. It would be the height of absurdity to suppose, that it is absolute, — that these people are in possession of all truth and free from all error. Every sect lays claim to the same preëminence, and on this ground every sect might with the same justice claim divine authority for its doctrine.

The obstinate persuasion and unalterable conviction for which the New Church are so remarkable, may be thought by some to argue favorably for the truth of their system. But it should be observed that the tenets of that system are very numerous and very positive, and that strength of conviction is always in proportion to these circumstances; witness the strong attachment of the Mahometan and the Catholic to their respective faiths. Besides, this doctrine is of a peculiarly *satisfactory* nature; it exercises, more than other systems, the minds of those who embrace it, invites to speculation, affords full scope to the imagination, flatters the

tastes of spiritually-minded men, and opens a prospect beyond the grave more definite, and therefore more attractive, than is to be found in any other form of Christianity. But these are considerations which regard rather the internal than the historical evidence. There remains but one more source of external proof, and that is, the opinions of contemporary critics. It has already been stated how highly Swedenborg was estimated by all who were conversant with him. His character appears to have been generally considered by his contemporaries as unexceptionable, exhibiting no trace either of mental aberration or of dishonest dealing. There were, however, exceptions to this judgment. By some he was regarded as a crazy enthusiast, and by some he was thought to be an impostor; for which latter supposition his connexion with Artista appears to have been the principal foundation. The testimony of Kant, as to Swedenborg's intercourse with the spiritual world, has been somewhat triumphantly adduced as an argument of great weight in favor of his Apostolic authority. An article in the eighth number of "The New Jerusalem Magazine," Boston, 1830, gives that testimony as it is contained in a letter to Madame Charlotte de Knoblock, republished from a translation in an English Journal of the same name. From this letter it appears that Kant had taken great pains to ascertain the correctness of those reports which were then in constant circulation concerning Swedenborg and his miraculous achievements. Nor is it at all surprising that one so interested in the cause of truth should have been anxious to come at the heart of this mystery, and to know clearly the nature, extent, and value of that power by which Swedenborg had acquired such fame as a conjuror and a prophet. His letter contains the result of these investigations, but not the inference which Kant drew from them. He was not a man to make up an opinion hastily on a subject of such deep import; least of all was he disposed to infer a miraculous power and a divine commission from data so insufficient as the facts which have been mentioned above. Yet from the tenor of the remarks which accompany the translation of Kant's letter in the article just alluded to, it would seem that the writer inferred a disposition on the part of that philosopher to favor Swedenborg's miraculous pretensions. Whether and how far this inference is justifiable, may be gathered from an essay

which Kant wrote in reference to that letter, and which contains his real opinion of Swedenborg,—an opinion formed, it would seem, from a study of his writings, and after a deliberation of eight years.* This essay is entitled "Dreams of a Ghost-seer explained by Dreams of a Metaphysician"; † a large portion of it consists in a serious inquiry into the nature of spirits and the possibility of our conversing with them; but that part which relates to Swedenborg is written in a playful, half-satirical manner, as if the subject were too absurd for a grave discussion. We will translate a few short passages for the benefit of those of our readers who may not have access to the original.

"The prejudice which rejects without reason the whole of a relation which is brought forward with some degree of plausibility, is just as absurd as the prejudice which receives without examination all that is affirmed by common report. In endeavouring to avoid the former error, the author of this essay suffered himself to be carried too far by the latter. He confesses with a feeling of humiliation, that he was simple enough to inquire into the truth of certain relations of the above-mentioned character. He found, — as is usually the case where there is nothing to seek, — nothing. Now this of itself is a sufficient reason for writing a book, but to this was added also the importunity of known and unknown friends, a circumstance which has already cost the author's modesty more than one literary production. Besides, a great work ‡ had been purchased and, what is worse, read, and so much trouble he was unwilling to lose. Hence arose the following essay which, we flatter ourselves, will give the reader full satisfaction, *according to the nature of the subject;* inasmuch as he will not understand *one* third part, not believe another, and laugh at the rest." —

"There lives at Stockholm, a certain Mr. Swedenborg, — a man without office or profession subsisting entirely upon his own property, which is by no means inconsiderable. His sole occupation, as he tells us, for the last twenty years has consisted in conversing with angels and departed spirits, with whom he has a very intimate acquaintance, — in drawing from them information concerning the other world, and giving them

* The letter to Madame de Knoblock was written in 1758. There he announces his intention of reading Swedenborg's works which he accordingly did, and in 1766 published the above-mentioned essay.

† See Kant's Vermischte Schriften. Vol. 2d. Halle. 1799.

‡ Swedenborg's "Arcana Cœlestia." 8 vols. 4to.

in exchange accounts of this. He fills whole volumes with the discoveries thus made and occasionally takes a journey to London to superintend their publication. He is not at all reserved in his communications, but converses with perfect openness about what he has seen and heard, and appears to be fully convinced of the truth of what he asserts, exhibiting no sign of studied deception or charlatanry. As, according to his own confession, he is the arch ghost-seer of all ghost-seers, so he is also of all mystics the arch-mystic, but this need not hinder those who are otherwise favorably inclined to spiritual influences, from supposing that there is much truth wrapped up in his mysticism."

After giving an account of Swedenborg's miracles, he says,

"It will probably be asked what could have induced me to undertake so humble a task as to repeat stories which no reasonable man would listen to with patience, to say nothing of making them the theme of a philosophical discussion."

In the same manner he speaks of our author's writings.

"The principal work of this writer contains eight quarto volumes full of nonsense which he proposes to the world as a new revelation under the title 'Arcana Cœlestia.' They consist chiefly in an application of his visions to the discovery of a secret sense in the two first books of Moses, and to a similar exposition of the whole Scriptures. With these mystical interpretations we have at present nothing to do; we shall confine ourselves to the 'audita et visa,' the things which his own eyes saw and his ears heard, as these lie at the foundation of all his other vagaries, and fall in with the metaphysical problem which we have proposed to ourselves. The author's style is flat. His relations and their arrangement appear in truth to be the result of fanatical intuition, and afford little ground for suspecting that he was induced by the speculative aberrations of a perverted reason to forge them for purposes of deception," &c.

It is impossible to mistake the tone of these passages, they show clearly, we think, that Kant's final opinion of Swedenborg's claims was any thing but favorable. As we believe Kant to have been the soundest thinker of his age on subjects of this kind, his opinion has greater weight with us than the opinion of any other man; but so cheap do we hold external authority of all kinds, that we should hardly have quoted it, had not so much stress been laid by the defenders of the New Church on the testimony contained in that unfortunate

letter which seems to have been subsequently a subject of so much regret to its author.

We believe that full justice has now been done to the historical part of the evidence for Swedenborg's legation; it only remains to inquire what argument can be derived for the divinity of his doctrine, from its internal character; and we should accordingly proceed at once to the internal evidence, but that we have already consumed more time than we had intended. Yet as the character of the doctrine is the most important topic of proof, and as our principal, — we might say our only reason for not receiving Swedenborg, is derived from this source, we shall probably resume the subject in some future number.

Meanwhile we wish it to be understood, that we have not taken up this question in any spirit of ill will. We have no hostile feelings toward our brethren of the New Church. There is much that we respect in their character, there is much that we admire in their religion; and could we separate Swedenborgianism from Swedenborg, the spirit of his doctrine from that form of superstition in which it is now enveloped, we should be almost willing to declare ourselves of this persuasion. But we have no sympathy with that idolatry which can embrace a human tradition as if it were a revelation from God, We esteem it no light thing to set up any other name whether of prophecy or of interpretation beside that name which alone is given for the salvation of man. It is one thing to acknowledge the truth of a theory in that relative sense in which truths of human discovery must always be understood, and it is quite another thing and, as it seems to us, an awful thing to claim for such discovery the direct authority of God. We war not with mysticism, though we think it a dangerous indulgence, like the love of strong drink, a mere feasting of the imagination, — "which has no relish of salvation in 't": but when the wine of mysticism is poured into sacred vessels and drunken as the inspiration of God, then the name of God is taken in vain and the worship of the most High is degraded into a heathenish mystery.

ART. VI. — *Men and Manners in America.* By the Author of "Cyril Thornton," &c. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, and Blanchard. 1833. 8vo. pp. 410.

NEVER was there produced a more violent conflict of opposing prejudices than by the publication of this book. The author begins by declaring himself endowed with his share of those which naturally belong to an Englishman; and if he had not explicitly stated it, the fact would have been obvious enough. This is nearly equivalent to saying, that his opinions on all subjects are fixed, that he is fully persuaded of the unlimited superiority of his own country to all others, and that he has travelled neither for the sake of personal amusement or improvement, nor for the purpose of benefiting the institutions of his country by a comparison of them with those of others. There is nothing for an Englishman to enjoy or approve in any other country; and he is induced to travel, solely that he may return with a keener relish, and if possible with a more thorough self-complacency, to the habits of home, after enduring for a few months the martyrdom of seeing, without participating in foreign customs. It may easily be imagined that the haughty tone of English superciliousness grated rather harshly upon our ears, accustomed as we are to the comfortable persuasion that we are in some respects better off than the inhabitants of Europe. Fortunately for us it was not for the first time. We are becoming rather accustomed to such salutations, and if they are repeated for a little while longer, we shall, perhaps, be quite indifferent to them. The discipline to which we are exposed, and for which we are expected by those who administer it to be extremely grateful, is something like that of the sparring-academy, in which the pupil, by dint of receiving hard knocks, must acquire the more agreeable power of giving them. In this school the art of reciprocating disagreeable things is all that can be learnt; and though it is dignified with the title of the art of self-defence, yet it can be a defence against the most vulgar and violent rudeness only.

Scarcely had our ears ceased to tingle from the effects of the buffet they had received from the gentle and elegant Mrs. Trollope, when we were called to encounter the more

vigorous blows liberally dealt out to us by the ungloved hand of Major Hamilton. In this case there is a little of the feeling of surprise and disappointment mingled with our regret at being obliged to repel such attacks from such a quarter. When Mr. Hamilton came among us, we congratulated ouselves that we had at length a British traveller, who, coming from that part of the nation whose character is most nearly allied to our own, was able to understand us, if not to sympathize with us; who had exhibited literary talents of a high order, and would therefore write well; who had travelled much, and might reasonably be expected to have an enlarged mode of thinking, and a wide field of comparison; who was in that rank of society which, as we have been taught, contains the finest specimens of human nature; in short, that we were receiving, in the true sense of the word, an accomplished gentleman, who could not be tempted either to injustice or carelessness. We expected (as it was then reported that he had a book in contemplation) to have our character fairly held up to us, our peculiarities pointed out, our faults, of which we trust we are not unconscious, truly delineated, our merits, if any, allowed, and the peculiar circumstances which have produced our character, or in any way operated upon it, traced with some spirit of philosophy. His reception among us was in accordance with these expectations, friendly even to cordiality. We took pleasure in showing that we respected him for what he had already done to gain an elevated reputation, and in affording him every facility for acquiring, what we supposed was his object, accurate information respecting the state of the country. We might have spared ourselves the trouble; — for with every possible facility, he has failed to acquire accurate information in many respects; and the only return we have received for civility, is that he has

> "all our faults observed,
> Set in a note-book, learn'd, and conn'd by rote,
> To cast into our teeth."

Are we so egregiously deceived by our patriotism or by the inordinate vanity Mr. Hamilton attributes to us, or is it true that there is nothing, — absolutely nothing, — in the condition, or institutions, or character of our fellow-countrymen that an intelligent traveller can commend, or remark

upon with pleasure? It is certain that there is not a single general commendation of either in Mr. Hamilton's book; and if this be justice, we are the most remarkable people on the face of the earth; for there is no other nation, savage or civilized, in which some good quality, or some favorable condition, might not be observed by the unprejudiced foreigner.

But, the truth is, we despair of ever seeing a book on this country written by a British traveller of good sense, good education, and liberality of mind. If such men as Captain Hall and Major Hamilton are found wanting in these qualifications, to whom shall we look? If there is such a person in the United Kingdom, one who can write with a reasonable degree of impartiality, who is endowed with a moderate share of sagacity, patience, and good nature, and who has ever read a word of our colonial history, we intreat him to come and spend a year or two among us, and then add one to the catalogue of Travels in the United States. He will be doing infinite service to both countries, saving us from the ignorant praise and the ignorant abuse which is showered upon us in England, and saving Great Britain from the ill-will she is in a fair way of treasuring up for herself in the minds of her own children.

In addition to the mischief arising from want of liberality, there is an objection to be made to Mr. Hamilton's book, which we could not have anticipated. We thought we had to deal with a thorough-bred gentleman; one with whom politeness was the habitual expression of natural feeling, and not the thin disguise thrown over his real sentiments by the man of the world. But his book abounds with assertions and insinuations, with sweeping condemnations of whole classes, and violent denunciations of individuals, with vulgar language, and coarse descriptions, which are characteristic of any thing but the well-bred man, which mark the writer deficient in sagacity, and the traveller devoid of tact. Perhaps we ought to make some allowance for an infirmity of temper, a splenetic disposition, which, however usual, is rarely exhibited in so undisguised a manner as by Mr. Hamilton. The idea of a Custom-House officer is exceedingly unpleasant to him; and he seems rather inclined to boast of having imbibed a prejudice against Mr. Webster because he was frequently mentioned with praise, and of having resolutely

denied himself the pleasure of seeing the water-works of Philadelphia, for the same reason. It is a pity that the praise he heard, from some persons in England, of the institutions of the United States, had not altogether prevented his tour.

These remarks may seem to come with an ill grace from Boston, a place distinguished by Mr. Hamilton with much praise. We beg leave to say, that we are fully sensible of the value of this praise, heightened as it is by its rarity; that we prize it as the reluctant confession of an unwilling witness. But we cannot be prevented by the sweets thus adroitly placed on the edge of the cup, from tasting the bitterness of the gall which fills it. We belong to New England; we are part of a people whose character is marked, according to Mr. Hamilton, by the agreeable qualities of impertinence, meanness, excessive vanity, devotion to money, coldness to every generous impulse, bigotry, and narrowness of mind; and is unredeemed by a single amiable or estimable trait, which he could discover, unless industry and love of order may be so considered. We belong also to a class of Christians, of whom Mr. Hamilton has spoken in a manner which would not be tolerated between individuals, and which no gentleman should allow himself to use towards a considerable class of respectable persons. "*Jonathan chose his religion, as one does a hat, because it fitted him.*" So then, the reason and argument to which Unitarianism confessedly appeals, went for nothing with Jonathan; he had no regard to the truth or falsehood of the tenets; his convictions were of no moment; but he deliberately chose a religious system for its convenience. It sits as lightly upon him as an easy hat, and will be exchanged for "a better and more Orthodox covering," when his head is more fully developed. We shall not condescend to reply to observations of this character. It is enough for us that "we know whom we have believed," and are able, upon suitable occasions, "to give a reason for the faith that is in us."

There is a paragraph, however, upon the character of Unitarianism upon which we wish to offer a single comment.

"The sermon was elegant, but somewhat cold and unemphatic. Indeed, how could it be otherwise? A Unitarian is necessarily cut off from all appeals to those deeper sources

of feeling, which, in what is called Evangelical preaching, are found to produce such powerful effects. No spirit was ever strongly moved by a discourse on the innate beauty of virtue, or arguments in favor of moral purity, drawn from the harmony of the external world. The inference that man should pray, because the trees blossom and the birds sing, is about as little cogent in theory as the experience of mankind has proved it in practice. The *sequitur* would be quite as good, were it asserted that men should wear spectacles because bears eat horse-flesh, and ostriches lay eggs in the sand. But, admitting the conclusion to be clear as the day-light, the disease of human depravity is too strong to be overcome by the administration of such gentle alteratives. Recourse must be had to stronger medicines, and these, unfortunately, the chest of the Unitarian does not furnish." — p, 94.

In the twenty-fifth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Acts, we read: "And as he reasoned of righteousnes, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled." Did Paul preach of "the disease of human depravity," of "one grand and universal atonement, and appeal to those sudden and preternatural impulses which have given assurance to the pious?" We are content to have our weapons of the same temper with those of Christ and his Apostles, and will cheerfully leave to those who need them all appeals to sudden and preternatural impulses, provided our preachers will *reason* to us of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come."

After the army of blundering British travellers who have overrun our country, we cannot complain that Mr. Hamilton is remarkably inaccurate. He has made, however, some curious and extraordinary mistakes, both in trifles and more important matters. Among the former may be mentioned his taking the monument on Bunker hill for one erected *to the memory of Washington*; adding, "a more appropriate site could not be found." For ourselves we should imagine some ground upon which Washington had gained a victory would be more appropriate than one upon which a battle was *lost* before Washington's arrival to take the command of the army.

He speaks of Tremont House in a very complimentary manner, but his critique upon a part of the architectural ornament of it is singularly unfortunate.

"The dining-hall," he says, "which is here the chief object of admiration, is defective, both in point of taste and proportion. The ceiling, in the first place, is too low; and then the ranges of Ionic columns, which extend the whole length of the apartment, are mingled with Antæ of the composite order; thus defacing, by the intermixture of a late Roman barbarism, the purer taste of Greece." — pp. 91, 92.

We can assure him that the Antæ are not of the composite order, nor have they any thing to do with a late Roman barbarism. They are copied from Antæ in the temple of Eleusis, the same city, and the same era, which furnished the originals for "the design of the ceiling, the proportions of the columns, and the models of their capitals and bases." *

"In visiting a foreign city, a traveller, — especially an English one, — usually expects to find, in the aspect of the place and its inhabitants, some tincture of the barbaric." — pp. 14, 15.

The English traveller is as sure to find it, as he is to expect it. The models of Greece itself are "defective in point of taste."

Mr. Hamilton has a happy faculty of making us appear ridiculous by our ignorant admiration of undeserving objects, or exaggerated praise of what is but tolerable. Thus he says he has heard the construction of Tremont House "gravely praised by men of talent and intelligence, as *one of the proudest achievements of American genius.*" He also observes that this hotel and a church in the same street, are "pointed out to strangers as worthy of all the spare admiration at their disposal." We are bound to believe him, but we are tolerably familiar both with the church and the hotel, and have some acquaintance with men of talent and intelligence among us; yet we never heard either of those buildings called specimens of American genius, nor ever heard King's Chapel commended for any thing but a certain venerable appearance, which its antiquity of nearly eighty years gives it, among the surrounding buildings of yesterday.

Mr. Hamilton has attributed to Boston the prevalence of a custom which we have heard of as existing in some other parts of the country, but which, so far as we know, is not the fashion here. We refer to the practice of observing Saturday evening as part of the Sabbath.

* Description of Tremont House, pp. 10, 11.

But these are trifles, and would deserve no notice but for the sneering, captious tone in which they are put forth, and which would seem the favorite manner of British travellers. There are a great many others of similar character, but in the affluence of subjects for remark afforded us by this book, we cannot spare time or space to enumerate them. A more important mistake is that of attributing to the New-Englanders "an apathetic temperament," (p. 120;) and another is that of imagining "attachment to republicanism to be less fervent in this quarter of the Union than in any other," (p. 118.) If Mr. Hamilton had laughed at us for a foolish enthusiasm, which is often exhibited for individuals, or for new projects, he would not have erred so materially. A popular preacher, or instructer, or actor, excites an enthusiasm not unfrequently, which, however excessive and absurd it may sometimes be, proves any thing but apathy. So a scheme whether for making money, or for spending it, for constructing a road, a mill-pond, or a hospital, is often seized with an avidity, a sort of simultaneous general impulse, that is rarely exhibited elsewhere, and would go far to prove, not that we are less, but that we are more excitable than other people. Almost all our benevolent institutions have been successfully established at moments when public attention has been roused to the want to be supplied; and the call to supply it has never yet been met by any thing short of an enthusiastic generosity. But, says Mr. Hamilton, the New-Englander is "of all God's creatures the least liable to be influenced by circumstances appealing to the heart or imagination," (p. 116.)

"The New-Englanders are a cold, shrewd, calculating, and ingenious people, of phlegmatic temperament, and perhaps have in their composition less of the stuff of which enthusiasts are made, than any other in the world." . . . . . "Talk to him of what is high, generous, and noble, and he will look on you with a vacant countenance. But tell him of what is just, proper, and essential to his own well-being or that of his family, and he is all ear. His faculties are always sharp; his feelings are obtuse." — pp. 94, 95.

It was doubtless from little, mean, personal motives, that our hospitals for the sick, the deaf, the blind, the insane were erected, that our asylums for orphans, and houses of reformation were established. It was a people destitute of

imagination and excitability who thronged the theatres and payed the most unusual and extravagant prices for seats, when a Cooke, or a Kean, or a Kemble vainly attempted to rouse their "apathetic temperament." It was a nation of "obtuse feelings" who received, a few years since, with such remarkable indifference and coldness, a visit from an old benefactor, a friend in their hour of need, the patriot of two hemispheres. But what could be expected of those who cannot be moved by "what is high, generous, and noble," who have but "half a heart," and that half devoted with "entire prostration" to the worship of Mammon? We feel it difficult to speak with becoming moderation of a mistake so injurious, and so palpable. We do not say, that he who could pass through our country and find nothing indicative of the high, generous, and noble, is wanting in those qualities himself, or does not know how to sympathize with them; but we do say, that he has shown himself very ill qualified to publish a book of travels in any country.

The other error we have mentioned, namely, that we are less attached to republicanism than the people of other parts of the Union is equally flagrant. It is true we are not so much inclined to talk of our republicanism as our Southern friends; but some observers would have thought that circumstance an indication of our being still more deeply imbued with its spirit than they are. Even Mr. Hamilton has remarked that our constitutions of government "are, in truth, republican in a degree verging on democracy";—while Virginia adheres "to a constitution comparatively aristocratic." Not only our state constitutions, but our town and city corporations, our counties, districts, parishes, all forms of organization that can be named or thought of among us, are essentially and truly republican. They have always been so, from the time when a form of civil polity was established on board the Mayflower, in 1620, to the present moment. Neither we nor our fathers ever dreamt of any other mode of social existence; it is essential to us as the air we breathe; and a New-Englander, when accidentally living under any other form of government, feels himself in a constrained and unnatural position, from which he recovers only on his native soil. For more than two hundred years we have been republicans. The revolution

changed the hands in which certain powers of government were placed. We transferred them from the king, lords, and commons, to the president and congress of the United States. But our form of government remained essentially the same as before. We did not then become, as all English travellers seem to think, we did not then become republican. There is scarcely a government in Europe which within two hundred years has not varied more in its essential characteristics than have these New England states. Even those that are still despotic, are so in a very different sense and manner from what they were two hundred years ago; and of those which are not so, every one has been, within that period, convulsed over and over again, not only with foreign and domestic wars, but with revolutionary changes in their systems of government. As for England, where it is the fashion to talk of the permanence of their institutions, where church and state, king, lords, and commons constitute the hypostatic union and glorious trinity of all orthodox political believers, it is really ludicrous to compare their eternal boast of the stability of their government, with what has really taken place within two centuries. Under James the First and Charles, England had not yet emerged from the darkness of despotism, when suddenly we find her involved in the whirlwind of anarchy and pseudo-republicanism, which is calmed only by the reappearance of despotism in its most odious form under Cromwell, and its most disgusting one under Charles the Second. Soon another "change comes o'er the spirit of" the times, and despotism is softened down to limited monarchy under William and Anne. Then comes the Hanover Settlement, which reduces the king to a mere instrument in the hands of others, a pageant, a machine, and the government gradually becomes an aristocracy. This tendency was not at first perceived in its full extent. It was still called and thought a limited monarchy; but for about fifty years past, the aristocracy have felt and used all their power, till the people are again becoming impatient under so long a continuance of one form of government, and seem now to be in a transition state from aristocracy to republicanism. We pass over the little episodes of a few rebellions and insurrections. Dundee and Prince Charles, the covenanters, the "glorious and immortal memory," &c. &c. are

things that had better be forgotten. And we do not refer to what we have mentioned in any spirit of unkindness or reproach; we know that every struggle has resulted in good, and that without the spirit of liberty the struggles could not have occurred. But why reproach us for the want of permanence in our institutions, when so few existing governments can show so long a history, and none can appeal to one marked by so much contentment, national prosperity, and individual security and comfort?

It would have been unpardonable in an English educated traveller, if he had omitted the usual tirade against the dialect of the country; and accordingly Mr. Hamilton has favored us with his remarks on this subject.

"Even by this educated and respectable class, the commonest words are often so transmogrified as to be placed beyond the recognition of an Englishman. The word *does* is split into two syllables, and pronounced *do-es*. *Where*, for some incomprehensible reason, is converted into *whare*, *there* into *thare*; and I remember, on mentioning to an acquaintance that I had called on a gentleman of taste in the arts, he asked, "Whether he *shew* (showed) me his pictures." Such words as oratory and dilatory, are pronounced with the penult syllable long and accented; missionary becomes *missionairy*; angel, *ângel*; danger, *dânger*, &c.

"But this is not all. The Americans have chosen arbitrarily to change the meaning of certain old and established English words, for reasons which they cannot explain, and which I doubt much whether any European philologist could understand. The word *clever* affords a case in point. It has here no connexion with talent, and simply means pleasant or amiable. Thus, a good-natured blockhead, in the American vernacular, is a *clever* man; and having had this drilled into me, I foolishly imagined that all trouble with regard to this word at least was at an end. It was not long, however, before I heard of a gentleman having moved into a *clever* house, of another succeeding to a *clever* sum of money, of a third embarking in a *clever* ship, and making a *clever* voyage, with a *clever* cargo; and of the sense attached to the word in these various combinations, I could gain nothing like a satisfactory explanation." — pp. 127, 128.

We cannot flatter Mr. Hamilton by saying that his "faculties are always sharp," if, when he got so far as to discover that "clever," applied to a man, meant a good

sort of person, he could not make a similar explanation of it when applied to a cargo or a house. "Does," split into two syllables! We never heard it, and do not know what he means. As for "where" and "there" we will attempt to illustrate the "incomprehensible reason" for our pronunciation. In the first place, it is spelt in the best pronouncing dictionaries in such a way as to indicate precisely the pronunciation Mr. Hamilton disapproves. This is pretty good *primâ facie* evidence, we think. In the next place, we find a series of that class of persons who are generally allowed to have some knowledge and some rights on this topic, we mean the classical poets of the language, confirming our enunciation by the words with which they have rhymed those in question. Is Dryden any authority on this point? We find the following couplet in the second book of his translation of the Æneis.

> "Then to my father's house I make repair,
> With some small glimpse of hope to find her there."

Pope is tolerably accurate in his rhymes. Take the following as specimens:

> "The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there."
> *Prologue to Satires.*

> "And snatch me, o'er the earth, or through the air,
> To Thebes, or Athens, when he will, and where."
> *Imitation of Horace.*

> "In palace-yard at nine you 'll find me there,—
> At ten for certain, Sir, in Bloomsbury Square." *Ibid.*

Thomson perpetrates rhymes between "there" and "despair," and "air."

Cowper says:

> "Home! Native home! O might he but repair,
> He must,—he will, though death attends him there."

But perhaps these are antiquated authorities, and not sufficient guides for modern refinement. Will Byron suffice?

> "And marked the mild angelic air,
> The rapture of repose that 's there."

Or Scott?

> "Nor track nor path-way might declare
> That human foot frequented there."

Miss Baillie surely will have some weight with Mr. Hamilton, and in a piece called "A November Night's Traveller," written for a collection edited by her, she says:

> "Some witch is casting cantraips there;
> The linen hovers in the air!"

Is this any excuse for the barbarism, or does Mr. Hamilton prefer the Cumbrian pronunciation, according to which, if we recollect right, these words would rhyme with "near," or does he like still better the genuine Scottish *whar*?

To "shew" we fear we must plead guilty, and have nothing to urge in extenuation of the offence, but the analogy of some other words, as "blow, blew," for instance. The accusation about "oratory," "dilatory," and "missionary," we totally deny; and with regard to "angel" and "danger," we do not know precisely what is meant to be charged upon us; but the first syllable of these words, as usually pronounced throughout the whole United States, would rhyme with "cane," and if that is wrong, we shall be happy to be set right. We are accused, too, of having changed the meaning of the word "fine" into something equivalent to *superior;* thus a "fine woman" means with us a person of uncommon talent or agreeableness. We admit it, and ask why we should not be permitted to modify the meaning of the word "fine," as well as the Englishman that of the word "nice." "A nice person," means *Anglicè*, one possessed of all excellent qualities. Is that the original and peculiar meaning of the word? But with regard to *fine*, it is rather the English who have restricted its meaning in a particular case, than we who have extended or altered it. "A fine *woman*," in the English sense, is a woman of handsome person; but when applied to the other sex, it is used by Englishman and Scotchman in precisely the same sense as by the American. "A fine fellow," means the same in Edinburgh, London, and New York. "Thou art a fine young fellow, I 'll be bound for thee," said Pleydell to Harry Bertram, on the evening of his recognition; and Mr. Webster, or Mr. Sergeant, or Judge Marshall would have said just the same thing under the same circumstances, except that the pronoun and verb would have taken the plural form. As for "reckon, guess, and calculate," they are the best of English, and we have a right to use them as often as we please;

and "progress" is found so convenient a verb, that it is used quite as frequently by English writers of the present day as by ourselves.

We have now a few remarks to make upon the language of this defender of the Shakspeare and Milton standard. Will Mr. Hamilton tell us on what authority he says "inquiries *at*," or "different *to*"? What classical authors use the words "*transmogrified*," (which we see more than once, and even dignified with capitals at the top of the 231st page of the American edition), "*gumption*," "*toggery*," and "*spatchcock*?" What this last word signifies, is beyond both our knowledge and our capacity of guessing, Yankees though we are. Of what consequence are "conversational anomalies," even perpetrated, as Mr. Hamilton says, "with the most remorseless impunity," compared with these printed and published anomalies in an elaborate work of an accomplished and elegant British writer? They are committed with an equally "remorseless impunity," — if any body knows what that means, — and by one who claims the privilege of expressing his "natural feeling at finding the language of Shakspeare and Milton gratuitously degraded." He says that "in another century the dialect of the Americans will become utterly unintelligible to an Englishman, unless the present progress of change be arrested." We do not anticipate any such catastrophe, unless our grandchildren get a burr in their throats, or "a bee in their bonnets," or acquire the English fashionable art of murmuring in undertoned indistinctness. We have often been obliged to listen with all the attention of which we were capable (and we are not deaf), when conversing with English ladies especially, in order to catch articulate sounds enough to enable us to "guess" what they said, and reply appropriately. It is not necessary to prophesy what is to be a century hence. At the present moment one can hardly travel through two counties of England without discovering peculiarities of expression, and in most cases the dialects are entirely unintelligible to the stranger; while we presume Mr. Hamilton had little or no difficulty in understanding others, or in making himself understood, in his extensive tour through this country. It is as easy to understand a Kentuckian or a Georgian, as a Pennsylvanian or a Yankee; and much easier to comprehend all of them than a Yorkshire-

man, a Somersetshire man, a Cumbrian, or a Scotchman. We are not disposed to complain when we "are buffeted for our faults," but it would really be agreeable to have an instructer able to teach us by example, as well as by precept.

Upon our district schools in New England Mr. Hamilton takes occasion to commit a slight mistake, which it may be as well to mention in passing. He says the principle of the establishments is the same as that of the parish schools of Scotland; the only difference is in the details. Now if he have not committed some blunder about his own country, as gross as those which abound in his book respecting ours, we undertake to say there is a very material difference in the principle of the two establishments. "In Scotland the land-owners of each parish contribute the means of education for the body of the people. The school-house and dwelling-house of the master are provided and kept in repair by an assessment on the land, which is likewise burdened with the amount of his salary," (p. 124.) In Scotland the land-owners are comparatively few. They are the aristocracy, and contribute to the means of education, not of their own children, but of the body of the people, — the poorer sort, who pay a small contribution, to prevent the appearance of sending their children to a charity school. In this country every body who has any property, or who is taxed at all, pays his share for the support of the public schools, whether his property be in land or stocks; and nearly all those who contribute to defray the expenses of the schools, contribute also to increase the number of pupils. There is no pretence that one small class of persons "contribute the means of education for the body of the people." The body of the people contribute those means for themselves. The expenses of schools are included in the general tax-bill which every inhabitant of a town pays; and the funds thus collected are disbursed by the town authorities, who are responsible to the body of the people, and removeable every year. One of the things to which the officers of a town are required to be especially attentive, in this country, is the state of the schools. Neglect in nothing is so likely to be visited with loss of office as in this.

We cannot admit, therefore, that the difference between the parish schools of Scotland, and the district schools of

New England is in "details only." It is essential, and arises from other differences in the character and circumstances of the two people.

It is curious to observe the different remarks which Mr. Hamilton makes upon the effect of a system which he contends is so similar in the two countries. "In Scotland," he says, "the instances are few, indeed, in which a child is suffered to grow up without sufficient instruction to enable him to discharge respectably the duties of the situation he is destined to fill." But what effect does the system of public instruction in America produce? Any thing like this? Are the mass of the people taught to discharge the duties of their stations respectably? If they be, Mr. Hamilton did not discover the fact. The only observation he makes upon the effect of our schools is the following. "Though the schoolmaster has long exercised his vocation in these states, the fruit of his labors is but little apparent in the language of his pupils. The amount of bad grammar in circulation is very great; that of barbarisms enormous." (p. 127.) We must import some Scotch schoolmasters; and we call the attention of all Yankee school committees to the necessity of the case.

Consistency in his remarks seems to have few charms for Mr. Hamilton; he does not trouble himself to keep up the appearance of it. He is perpetually abusing us for devotion to money, and yet he tells a story of a young Haytian, which would show that we are less thorough worshippers of Mammon than his own countrymen; that there are some things money cannot buy of us. Again, he spent three weeks in Boston, where he professes himself to have been pleased with his reception, and speaks highly of the character of the population. This is all he saw of New England, except what was necessary in coming from New York, by way of Providence, and returning by way of Worcester, Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven. Yet there is no portion of the nation whom he scolds so unmercifully as the Yankees. Where did he get all this disagreeable knowledge of our character? He surely would not believe all the foolish stories that are circulated, half in fun and half in displeasure, about the Yankees, in other parts of the Union. He would not imbibe all the prejudices of that portion of our population who have any against us, in opposition to his own observations. Where did he hear that "the whole race of

Yankee pedlars [pedlers], in particular, are proverbial for dishonesty? That they go forth in annual thousands to lie, cog, cheat, and swindle?" The most vehement nullifier of South Carolina could say nothing worse of us; and for ourselves we do not believe quite the whole of this very gentlemanly account. If our pedlers go forth every year only to lie and swindle, how does it happen that they do it every year successfully? One would think our southern and western friends had had experience enough of us to render them cautious. It is said that no one is deceived twice in the same way; and if our pedlers can, every year, pass off the quantity of commodities they carry with them, merely by force of lying and swindling, they must have a fertility of invention unequalled either by the Andrew Fairservices of Scotland, or the Hajji Babas of Persia. We suspect Mr. Hamilton, however, of having been beguiled, not by the pedlers, but by the anti-pedlers; and of having digested a large mass of prejudice against them, which does great credit to his powers of deglutition, but not so much to the nicety and discrimination of his palate. We are the more inclined to this opinion, because we find he takes every opportunity of setting down what is disagreeable as characteristic, while he never mentions the *per contra* side of the account. Thus he tells an exceedingly unpleasant anecdote as characteristic of Yankees (for which we refer our readers to pp. 145, 146), of a woman who very ungraciously accepted a loan of money, and afterwards neglected to repay the sum till it was called for. The following are his remarks upon the transaction:

"The truth is, that the woman was very far from being a swindler. She was only a Yankee, and troubled with an indisposition, — somewhat endemic in New England, — to pay money. She thought, perhaps, that a man who had been so imprudent as to lend to a stranger, might be so negligent as to forget to demand repayment. The servant might have lost her address; in short, it was better to take the chances, however small, of ultimately keeping the money, than to restore it unasked. All this might be very sagacious, but it certainly was not very high-principled or very honest." — pp. 146, 147.

Mr. Hamilton was unfortunate in his experience; but it so happens that a friend of ours, in travelling between Boston and Springfield, once met with a case somewhat

similar. A respectable-looking woman was observed to decline taking meals with the other passengers in the coach. Upon inquiry it was ascertained that from some accidental disappointment, she had not money enough to pay for her passage to New York, and for her meals also. The necessary amount was furnished, for which she returned suitable acknowledgments at the time; and the money was refunded by the first mail, with warm expressions of the gratitude of herself and her friends. Now which of these is the most characteristic anecdote? — An American gentleman was, not many years ago, travelling from London to Dublin. At Holyhead, an officer of the army, with whom he had been very pleasantly associated on the road, bade him adieu. "Why, how is this," said our friend, "are you not going to Dublin?" "Yes, but I am out of funds, and must wait till I get a remittance." "Allow me to supply you. It 's a trifle, and waiting here will be tedious." After some urging he accepted the requisite three guineas. He resided at the same hotel with the American in Dublin, though they did not meet very frequently. At length, our friend was taking his departure early one morning, when he was particularly requested by a servant not to leave the house without seeing his late travelling companion. As this was strongly urged, he was ushered into the officer's sleeping apartment, where he was received with profuse apologies for neglect in returning the three guineas; the address of his banker was noted down, and vehement assurances of payment were reiterated. From that hour to this neither our friend, nor our friend's banker has seen the three guineas. Was this characteristic of the "very high-principled" British officer? Or is it to be accounted for by the occasional confusion of brain of an Irish captain? We should be ashamed of our friend, were he to suppose it a characteristic trait of any class of men; and were we particularly interested in Mr. Hamilton's reputation for good sense or fairness, we should be greatly chagrined at his conclusions.

We had intended to speak of many other things in this book which require notice, to point out a few more mistakes, rash prophecies, vulgar language, and prejudiced descriptions;* but we are tired of the odious task; and quit it, not

* Under these heads we should have mentioned his reference of the Amboy and Bordentown rail-road to some distant age, as "a specula-

because we have exhausted the topics, but because we have neither time nor inclination to write a book instead of a review of one. We are desirous of showing, however, that we have so much of the Christian temper in us that we can return good for evil, and, though Mr. Hamilton would find little or nothing to praise in this country, that we are still disposed to acknowledge all his merits, even in this disagreeable production. His style is very lively, and with the exception of the "anomalies" we have pointed out is correct, agreeable, and easy. There is also a fund of humor which displays itself in a quiet but effective way, now and then, and makes one laugh in spite of the *ill* humor which the greater part of the volume is adapted to exhibit and produce. Another thing which pleased us, is the manliness of the book. The author never flinches from expressing, in the most undisguised manner, what seems to be his real opinion; and although he might have done the same thing less coarsely sometimes, he tells us truths which it will be well for us to think of, and points out some faults which we cannot too soon correct. We agree with him almost entirely in his remarks about the curiosity displayed here, the unpleasant rapidity with which meals are despatched; and in his more serious observations on the style of oratory, and on the mode of doing business, in Congress.

We commend Mr. Hamilton also for having avoided the sickly, nauseous *loyalty* (if that is the proper name of the feeling), which made Captain Basil Hall find every thing so delightful in Canada, after escaping from these barbaric states. Mr. Hamilton speaks of things there as they strike most people, as no better than in the United States, if as well. Captain Hall thought a *corduroy* road in Canada, as smooth as a garden walk in Massachusetts; and the people appeared to him much more familiar with the "high, generous, and noble," than the inhabitants of the other side of the line. Mr. Hamilton thinks differently, and has the manly sense to speak differently. Few travellers describe scenery

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tive and probably remote contingency," when it so turned out that the road was completed, and travelled over by hundreds daily, for months before this remark saw the light. We should also have mentioned his very vulgar description of Joseph Bonaparte, his libellous and scurrilous anecdote of Jefferson, and some few other misrepresentations, which it will require a large share of charity to forget and forgive.

so well as Mr. Hamilton. His account of the Mississippi river, Niagara Falls, the St. Lawrence, and Quebec, are exceedingly graphic and striking.

It is impossible for us to close our remarks upon this work, without calling the attention of our readers to the singular parallel which exists between it, and a book that appeared, almost simultaneously, upon England. We refer to the work of Baron D'Haussez. This gentleman, after a three years' residence in England, moving in the most fashionable and elegant circles, has given us what, as far as we can judge, is a fair, sensible, and correct view of things. A comparison of the two works would almost make one imagine that they had been written in concert; for there is scarcely a topic upon which Mr. Hamilton expresses his dissatisfaction with what he found in this country, upon which the Baron does not make a corresponding objection to the state of things in England. Mr. Hamilton says, the devil sends cooks to America, if he does any where; the Baron says, the refinements of cookery are unknown in England. Mr. Hamilton says there are no "*or molu*" clocks,* or hangings in the drawing-rooms of this country. Hear the Baron; — "How much better had the money squandered on them (knick-knacks) been applied to the purchase of clocks, *wanting in all the English apartments,* or to a more elegant species of furniture than that covered with printed calico, which one sees in the greater part of the best furnished *salons* of the capital." Mr. Hamilton finds frequent fault with our style of architecture.

"Springfield," he says, "abounds with white frame-work villas, with green Venetian blinds, and porticoes of Corinthian or Ionic columns sadly out of proportion. It appears to me, however, that massive columns, — and columns not *apparently* massive, at least, must be absurd, — are sadly out of place when attached to a wooden building. When such fragile materials are employed, *lightness* should be the chief object of the architect; but these transatlantic Palladios seem to despise the antiquated notions of fitness and proportion which prevail in other parts of the world. They heap tawdry ornament upon

* A most extraordinary mistake, by the way; for there is no article of furniture more common than a *bronze doré* clock. We think it probable there are more Paris clocks in this city than in any town in Great Britain, of three times its size.

their gingerbread creations, and you enter a paltry clapboard cottage, through, what is at least meant for, a splendid colonnade." — pp. 141, 142.

Baron D'Haussez thinks almost as ill of the architecture of England.

"In classifying the relative degree of imperfection of the fine arts in England, architecture should be placed still lower than painting. It is almost reduced to the routine of heaping brick upon brick, without farther order or symmetry than that necessary to create openings for doors and windows. If a house should be too small, another is built at the side of it, out of harmony with the first. English architects do not hesitate to place a beam on an arch, a small window by the side of a wide door, or a chimney at the angle of a building. Do they wish for ornaments? they can only find columns; they do not trouble themselves either with their proportions or their props. Their height is determined by the elevation of the edifice. They are placed on a cornice or on a balcony, with as little motive as there would be for placing them underneath: they are indifferently employed in ornamenting a shop, a palace, or a cottage." — Vol. I. pp. 173, 174.

We could pursue this parallel through many other subjects, if it were desirable; so that if both books contain a just account of the respective countries, it is manifest that we have inherited by the most legitimate descent, many of the disagreeable peculiarities and defects of the English, from national vanity down to bad taste in cookery. And shall the mother reproach the daughter for inherited defects? If, on the other hand, Baron D'Haussez's work contain mistakes and prejudiced views, will it be believed in England, that a man who spends eight months in galloping through the United States at the rate of a thousand miles a month, is as liable to error, as one who, after three years of favorable opportunities, gives the result of his observations on England to the public? The Baron, moreover, had no other motive in publishing his book, so far as appears, than to give an impartial account of the country. He did not wish either to stop emigration, or to prevent the example of England from being quoted with respect in the chamber of deputies. His observations correspond, with great exactness, with all we have ourselves observed, and with all we have ever learnt from other foreigners, relative to the manners,

character, and condition of the English. We are constrained, therefore, to believe that it is a very fair account, on the whole; while our opinion of Mr. Hamilton's impartiality may be collected from the preceding pages. There is a passage in Baron D'Haussez's work, which expresses so well what we have often thought, that we shall, in conclusion, use his language and authority to confirm our views.

"One of the most commonly vaunted pretensions of English society is that of thoroughly knowing the interests and the people of other countries. From this to absolute judgments there is but a step, and that step is so rapidly taken that reflection has not time to intervene. It is to be regretted, that the gravity which the English carry to the consideration of other subjects, on which they exercise their good sense, abandons them on these occasions; more especially, when one hears them put forth such fallacious opinions regarding men and things, mistake facts so strangely, give implicit belief to such contemptible authorities, and exhibit so little discernment and spirit of inquiry when examining the considerations on which they form their judgment. Cautious and sensible in all that touches the interests of their own country, they are rash and inconsiderate in all that concerns other nations. And nevertheless, they are in a better position than any other people to avoid these freaks of judgment. They travel much, visit every thing, question on all occasions, write copious notes. One is tempted to ask, Why take so much trouble and fatigue to carry back incorrect accounts? Why observe so much, and after all see so ill? Hasty as they are in their opinions and judgments on the political affairs of other nations; prejudiced as they are towards those who figure therein; disposed to interfere, as they must be admitted to be, not only with their purse, but their persons, in quarrels with which they have no concern; the English nevertheless allow a stranger, with manifest reluctance, to form an opinion of what passes in England. Among the politest Englishmen, an unequivocal impatience is exhibited; and those who are less courteous, take no pains to dissemble their feelings. Nobody could find fault with the English, if they exhibited towards other nations the reserve which they exact from strangers in speaking of their own."—Vol. I. pp. 49, 50.

ART. VII. — *Journal of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Temperance Convention, begun and held at Worcester, on Wednesday, September* 18, 1833. Boston. Ford & Damrell. 1833. 8vo. pp. 36.

A CONVENTION of delegates from the several Temperance Societies of this Commonwealth assembled at Worcester on the 18th of last September, for the purpose of considering how the cause of temperance could be most effectually served at the present time, within the limits of the State. Such a convention, — including nearly 500* members, collected from all parts of the State, drawn from every religious denomination and every political party, presenting every variety of temperament, from the sanguine zeal of youth to the cautious judgment of age, many of them men to whom the people had awarded high civil offices, and others, those on whom they had bestowed their respect and confidence, but all of them brought together by their interest in a common object, for which they were ready to forget their differences, and to exhibit the beautiful spectacle of Christian beneficence in exercise with Christian courtesy, — may claim the attention even of those who withhold their sympathy from its purpose. The deliberations of such a body must be an object of interest with the people, and the measures which with a singular unanimity they concurred in advising, the weakest vanity or the most obstinate prejudice alone can regard with indifference. Never before had such a meeting for such an object been held in Massachusetts. That philanthropy should have broken down the usual barriers of division, and have secured an assemblage of worth and influence that cannot be held inferior to any ever convened within the Commonwealth, gave to this occasion a character of novelty, which we care not how soon it shall exchange for that of oft-quoted precedent. Our own thoughts have again been directed to the evil which this Convention was called to consider, and the result has been to strengthen our conviction of the value of the "temperance reforma-

* 496 is the number reported by the Secretaries. Of this number a respected friend, whose accuracy is unimpeachable, informs us that 105 were clergymen, 391 laymen.

mation," of the practicability of the work in which its active friends are engaged, and of the importance of obtaining for it the attention, sympathy, and support of every one who has not yet given it his countenance. Our present remarks will include a rapid sketch of the origin, principles, and progress of this undertaking.

The vice of intemperance a few years since had overrun our land to an extent, which, though every one must have pronounced it enormous and fearful, recent calculations have shown to have greatly exceeded the belief or apprehension of any one. In two respects this vice had preëminence over all others, and therefore required special efforts for its extinction. It produced a greater amount of disastrous consequences than any other habit. It affected the person, health, property, character, and family of the individual who became its victim. It unnerved the strong arm, bloated or withered the fair figure, consumed the vital principle, broke up a man's industry, wasted his fortune, hardened his heart, seared his conscience, quenched the light of intellect and the holier light of love, set aside the restraints of religion, buried the hope of heaven, and made a man a beggar, a brute, a monster, a child of hell. It spread sadness and desolation over domestic life, made one's home the scene of shame and fury, wrung the heart of woman with anguish when it could not persuade her to forget her sex and her nature in submission to its power, converted every relation of life into a source of discord, and every blessing, privilege, circumstance of existence into the fuel of misery, compelled parents to wish they had been childless, and children to shudder as they found disgust and abhorrence mingling with the filial sentiment, made heart-broken widows and wretched orphans of those who yet welcomed death within their doors. It sapped the strength and expended the resources of the community, reducing able-bodied citizens to helplessness, turning laborers into drones, and forcing the industrious and virtuous to maintain hosts, — literally hosts, — of these unprofitable and offensive fellow-creatures; for pauperism owned itself indebted to this cause for almost all the demands with which it wearied the ear of charity. It increased the dangers of the social state, and multiplied every form of wickedness; crime received from its hands nearly all those whom it delivered to the gaol, the state prison, and

the gallows. Its effects, in a single line, were loss of health, disgrace, ruin, the overthrow of domestic peace, augmentation of the public burthens, increase of profaneness, licentiousness, riot, theft, and murder, death, darkness, woe. Upon what other vice could be charged such a production of evils, physical and mental, personal and social, temporal and eternal, — not in some rare instances, — not in many cases only, — but in almost every instance without exception or qualification?

Yet in this tendency to aggravate the miseries of the world, does not lie the sole distinction of intemperance over other vices. It is also preëminent for the facility with which it swells the numbers of those who surrender themselves to its thraldom, when the slightest observation would suggest so many dissuasives. It is universally conceded, that the appetite for spirituous liquor is unnatural, and its taste at first unpleasant; the use of it brings on that train of evils which we have described, and by such a progressive accumulation, that any one may at any stage of the habit, either by looking back to discover what he has lost or by looking forward to anticipate what he must expect, convince himself that perseverance is the height of folly. Still it was at the time of which we are speaking the vice of all classes. No condition excluded it; nothing seemed to be a security against it. The brightest and the best humbled themselves before its influence. Joy and sorrow, health and sickness, cold and heat, poverty and abundance, were only different means by which it introduced and fastened itself upon men, women, and even children. The great would forget their greatness, the good would sacrifice their goodness, and fashion and custom conspired with less obvious causes to make the sober man a moderate drinker, the moderate drinker habitually intemperate, and the habitually intemperate irreclaimable drunkards. The good habits and principles of the people were crumbling beneath the step of this mammoth vice. The liberties of the country were endangered, its institutions were threatened, and there was reason to fear that this single habit would work the decay and downfall of those privileges, which had distinguished us among the nations, and would compel us to illustrate the meaning of our Saviour's prophecy against the unbelieving cities of Galilee.

Such was the evil which called for the interference of the

lovers of their country, their homes, and their own souls. We have forborne to repeat the numerical statements by which its enormity is most vividly presented to the mind, because, though we do not doubt their general correctness, from their nature they cannot be perfectly accurate, and their force is often parried by the complaint of exaggeration. The magnitude and prevalence of the evil even now, and still more a few years ago, are unquestionable, and to the most cursory observation must have justified an attempt to prevent its increase, if it were impossible to purge the land of its presence. The latter task seemed hopeless, and few were so impressed with the character of the vice, or so confident of success, as to oppose any systematic resistance to its progress. In the year 1813 the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was formed, and on the list of its earliest members may be found the names of some of the most distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth. One or two societies for a similar object had been previously formed in other parts of the country,* but none embracing so large a sphere of operation, or suited to obtain such regard as the Massachusetts Society. For many years this Society drew attention to the subject by meetings, addresses, and other publications; and meanwhile, partly through its influence, and partly, doubtless, from other causes, a change was effected in the habits of a most important class of the people, — the more cultivated and opulent class. Still, throughout the country intemperance was extending its conquests, and was celebrating its triumphs in facts of the most painful and alarming character. The Massachusetts Society was a feeble instrument against such an inveterate and shameless

* The Constitution of one of these, — "The Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland," in Saratoga County, New York, is given in the second number of the "American Quarterly Temperance Magazine." The fourth article deserves to be copied. "Article IV. No member shall drink rum, gin, whiskey, wine, or any distilled spirits, or composition of the same, or any of them, except by advice of a physician, or in case of actual disease, also excepting wine at public dinners, under penalty of twenty-five cents; provided that this article shall not infringe on any religious ordinance. *Section* 2. No member shall be intoxicated under penalty of fifty cents! *Section* 3. No member shall offer any of said liquors to any other member, or *urge* any other person to drink thereof, under penalty of twenty-five cents for each offence."

vice.* An organization intended to reach over a much wider territory and to act with more immediate effect was devised, and the American Temperance Society was instituted in 1827. That some of its first proceedings were marked by an illiberal spirit, as we deemed to be true at the time, we shall always regret; but that it has faithfully and successfully pursued its ostensible and noble purpose, cannot be denied, and its name will for ever be associated with a most signal improvement in the habits of the American people. By means of agents employed to visit different sections of the country, and of publications scattered with a profuse generosity over its whole face, a change in public sentiment has been effected, particularly in the Northern States of the Union, which has produced a change in practice, that has withdrawn thousands from ruin, and saved multitudes from an indulgence which every year would have rendered more dangerous. We need not exhibit in figures the evidences of this change, that are furnished by the diminution of the sale

* A disposition has been manifested to underrate the value of the services rendered by this Society to the cause of temperance, and still more to represent its promoters as ignorant of the principles which lie at the foundation of success. The failure of their enterprise, if such a name must be given to the result of their labors, should be attributed to two causes, which prove the generous ardor with which they entered upon the work. The insensibility of the public upon the subject met them with an almost impenetrable resistance, and the modes of associated action, which within a few years have been found most effective for philanthropic ends, were then scarcely known. In agricultural language, they were obliged to break the ground with imperfect instruments. But the result of their efforts does not deserve to be styled a failure. There is no reason to doubt the truth of the remark with which their "Second Annual Report" begins; — "That the operations of the Society, during the short term of its existence, appear to have produced salutary effects in calling the attention of the public to a portentous evil, which was making silent, but rapid and almost unresisted progress in the community." In December, 1814, the Board of Council issued a Circular, "adapted to show that the *excessive* use of ardent spirits commonly results from the regular use of it at the return of certain hours." This was at most but one step short of the principle of total abstinence. If any of our readers have in their possession the early volumes of "The Christian Disciple," we beg leave to refer them to a series of articles in the volume for 1816, on "the causes, evils, preventives, and remedies" of intemperance, which will show, that whatever may have since been the increase of general information, there were those twenty years ago who understood the character of the evil they were anxious to suppress.

and use of ardent spirits. One cannot enter a public (we had almost said, or a private) house, or listen to the conversation in a stage-coach, or take up a newspaper, and not be reminded that opinion, which once upheld, is now strongly directed against this vice, and that a glorious reformation, — we repeat the words, for they are as just as delightful, — a glorious reformation, if not yet achieved, is in the course of successful experiment, — no, it passed that point long ago, it is no longer an experiment, — is in rapid progress towards its accomplishment.

It is time to inquire into the principles on which this reformation has been conducted, and the measures on which its friends have relied. The truths which they have taken as the basis of their endeavours are these two, — that no one can be justified in exposing himself needlessly to a temptation which long and general experience has proved to be more than man can well resist, and that every one is bound to promote the welfare of the community, — his neighbours, his townsmen, his countrymen, his fellow-men, — even at some personal sacrifice. These are both laws of Christian morality; the first falls under the title of a man's duty to himself; the second, under the head of his relative duties. Their meaning is too obvious, and their authority too plain, to require any thing more than an illustration. If, for example, large experience have shown that by an occasional intercourse with gamblers one is insensibly drawn into a ruinous love of play, no one should allow himself to keep their company, or enter the place of their resort. Every one should exercise the same circumspection here, which the passionate man should maintain over his temper, or he who is conscious of any sinful propensity should observe in respect to that propensity. He should avoid a provocation to do wrong, to which there is great reason to fear he would yield, while he would show no want of courage or integrity in escaping the danger. The Christian should not violate the spirit of his daily prayer, — "Lead me not into temptation," — by presumptuously approaching it. If, again, the Christian behold those about him subject to an evil which he believes to be remediable, he must not hesitate to practise some self-denial, if by it he can effect any good. If, for instance, he were possessed of such a singular habit of body, that he could enjoy the use of opium without realiz-

ing its deleterious effects, but knew that others, whose experience must include the harm with the pleasure, would be induced by his example to use this drug, he ought to forego the indulgence; or if by the culture of a plant in his garden the air of the neighbourhood were rendered unhealthy to all but himself, who again was, or imagined that he was, insensible to its poison, he ought not to continue the cultivation of that plant. The spirit of the gospel, the language of its first teachers, and the example of its Founder concur in inculcating the duty of surrendering our own gratification or advantage to the good of others.

On these principles has of late been maintained the propriety of an entire disuse of ardent spirits, or what is called "the doctrine of total abstinence." This doctrine is, that no one ought to take any liquor of which alcohol is the essential material as a drink, neither habitually, nor moderately, nor occasionally. It should never be taken, except as an article of the *materia medica*, and under medical advice. The arguments by which this doctrine is sustained, may be easily drawn from our previous remarks. The use of alcohol in any other way than as a medicine is needless,—it can do no good. The testimony of physicians of the first eminence and the most extensive practice has placed it beyond doubt, that "men in health are never benefited by the use of ardent spirits." Their use is not only unnecessary, but injurious, the source of incalculable evil, as is proved by the same testimony, and by numberless facts. Here, then, is a strong reason against their use joined to the overthrow of every reason that can be urged in its favor. But since many are disposed to adduce examples of its harmlessness, the advocates of total abstinence resort to the danger inseparable from an opposite course, the danger to which every man who tastes the liquor of intoxication is exposed,—the danger of becoming a drunkard. There is a fatal fascination about the cup; the origin and course of which, however, are involved in no mystery. The system craves the excitement which it has enjoyed; increase of quantity is necessary to renew this excitement; subsequent lassitude reproduces the want after a shorter period; and by degrees insensible, perhaps, to himself, but obvious to every one else, he who at first drank only for good fellowship descends to a level with the common drunkard. That

there are exceptions cannot render it safe to expose one's self to the temptation, or wise to incur the hazard of ruin for no possible benefit; unless it be wise for a child to assail a hive of bees, because other children have done the same thing with impunity, or safe for a man to walk on a dizzy height, because, while ten have lost their lives one has maintained his foothold. The extreme probability that the least use of ardent spirits will end in their excessive use, should incline every one, instead of proceeding on a foolish confidence in his own strength, to believe that safety lies in total abstinence. But if it were right to encounter such a temptation to ruin, where only one's self is concerned, it must cease to be right when the example may be quoted and followed to the ruin of many others. If you fear not for yourself, say the advocates of this doctrine, fear for your neighbour, who, with less principle or less power of self-control than you, may be encouraged by your practice and emboldened by your reasoning to begin a course, the issue of which with him will be notorious intemperance. You will be more than accessory to his sin and woe; you will be its prime cause; and the law of your Master commands you to deny yourself for his sake. Put not temptation in his way. Let not your conduct be the occasion of his fall. Remember the words of an Apostle, who would have abstained from healthful food, that he might not cause his brother to offend.

The founders of the American Temperance Society, taking the ground which has now been explained, saw at once that their efforts must be addressed to another portion of the community than that in which the grossest examples of indulgence were seen. Although they did not treat the drunkard as irreclaimable and leave him to his fate, they believed that the only effectual method of coping with the vice, which they had undertaken to vanquish, was by persuading those who drank moderately to renounce the use of ardent spirits entirely. For thus they reasoned; There would be no drunkards, if there were no moderate drinkers. A man does not become a sot at once. We might reform all the drunkards, who now infest our streets or fill our almshouses, and in ten years another generation yet more numerous would have come up in their place. But let us induce men not to drink at all, and the next generation will be all sober men. This reasoning was as plain as a child's lesson, and as strong as demonstra-

tion. Yet it had never been reduced to practice. The attempt was made to prove its truth, and the results have exceeded the hopes of the most zealous.

To the adoption of the principle of total abstinence, and to the application of it to those whom no one had thought of calling intemperate, may be ascribed the success which has attended the recent efforts in behalf of temperance. The measures pursued have not gone beyond the bounds of instruction and persuasion. By collecting, arranging, and setting before the public, facts to which they could not be indifferent, by making them acquainted with the statistics of intemperance, their attention was fastened on the subject, it became a topic of conversation, men began to think and read about it, and were then prepared to coöperate. The next step was to gather them into societies, with a single view to the countenance they might give each other, and the strength they might give to the cause which they were ready to espouse. Thousands of such societies have been formed within the last six years, including an immense number of individuals in every station and every condition of life.* They have adopted the principle of total abstinence; to which their members have generally bound themselves by a written pledge. The necessity or propriety of this measure has been questioned by some decided advocates of temperance, who consider it liable to serious objections, and

* A short extract from the last Report of the American Temperance Society will show the justness of this statement. "Is it right for me to drink ardent spirit? Two millions in our country, and multitudes in other countries, who have examined this subject, have answered, No. A million have united in Temperance Societies, and pledged themselves not to use it, or furnish it, and in all suitable ways to discountenance the use of it throughout the community. The number of these Societies in the United States exceeds five thousand, and more than twenty of them are State Societies, at the head of which in many cases are the first men in the community. More than two thousand men have ceased to make it, and more than six thousand have ceased to sell it. Seven hundred [American?] vessels now float on the ocean, in which it is not used. More than five thousand drunkards have also ceased to use intoxicating drinks." We do not place implicit confidence in the accuracy of these calculations, nor do we think any extent of inaccuracy could affect the strength of the argument, on which the temperance reformation rests its claim to public support. The belief, however, by well-informed men that such an amount of good has been done, cannot but be taken as encouragement to proceed. Far less would justify hope. "It is doing *something* and *persevering*," said the Council of the Massachusetts Society in one of their first Reports, "that will ensure success."

believe that nearly, if not quite, as much good would have been secured without it, as is ascribed to its use.* Our observation satisfies us that no difficulty need arise in the way of coöperation between those who sign and those who withhold their names from a pledge, and we have noticed with pain some recent attempts to cast opprobrium or ridicule on the latter, as if they were not hearty friends of the cause, in which they profess to take as deep an interest as is felt by the supporters of this particular measure. This seems to us the intemperance of partiality for one's own opinion, and is unjust; if it be not impolitic. The Massachusetts Society have incorporated the pledge with their Constitution, though with an understanding, as we learn, that this change should not affect the relation of former members to the Society.

Thus far has the temperance reformation proceeded. The public mind has been aroused, the public ear and eye are filled with details, that cannot be learned only to be forgotten. The true method of extirpating the vice seems to have been discovered, and sound principles are diligently inculcated. Who would have thought, five years ago, that what we now see would have been effected at this time? How many, but two years ago, predicted a reaction? Through the good judgment of those, who in their zeal did not lose sight of prudence, such fear has not been realized, and every month diminishes its reasonableness; still, much remains to be done in this holy work, and if they, to whom the glory of its execution belongs, should now suspend their labors, every thing which has been gained would soon be lost. Public opinion has been enlightened, and elevated, but it must be brought still nearer to the mark of Christian morality. Multitudes have been induced to refuse all terms with the destroyer; but multitudes still maintain connexion with it, and many, ah! many, are its slaves. Let no one think that this is the time to stop, and leave the care of these interests which he values to Providence. Providence chooses to take care of the interests of society through the help of those who understand them. The work will not be dropped. There are hands and hearts devoted to it that will not let it go back or stand still. The only question that comes before us is,

* The arguments for a pledge are given in this Journal, Vol. xii. pp. 251 – 254.

whether we will share the enterprise, and give it whatever aid it might derive from our sympathy, expressed in such ways as we may deem best, but expressed with too much decision to be misinterpreted. Two objects especially press themselves upon our notice.

Among the resolutions passed at the late Convention was one to this effect, — that "the traffic in ardent spirit is morally wrong." By many persons this doctrine will be accounted extravagant, but a little explanation and a little reflection will, we think, dispose them to admit its truth. It is difficult, if we allow the principles already presented, to avoid a conclusion to which they directly lead. The sale of alchohol for medical or mechanical purposes is not condemned. It is used in the arts, it may be prescribed by a physician. But to make or vend it to be drunk, whether in large or small quantities, is to enrich one's self by tempting others to commit sin. For, if it be acknowledged that ardent spirit can never be a source of benefit to persons in health, but in the vast majority of examples of its use will be the occasion of incalculable evil, how can he who makes or sells the article for drink be vindicated from the charge of affording men facilities to harm and ruin themselves? Now this, we conceive, no one has a moral right to do. It cannot be right for the sake of gain, and of gain alone, to tempt or assist men to brutalize themselves and to spread misery around them. It cannot be right for gain, and gain only, to seduce or help others to form a habit to which may be traced the greater part of the poverty and crime of the Christian world. If no ardent spirit were made, none could be drunk; and if none were sold but for use in the arts or in the sick chamber, intemperance would be unknown in the land. Does it not follow, that they who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of this article are the indirect authors of the intemperance under which the land groans, and of its attendant evils? Do we say then that every manufacturer or vender of ardent spirit is an immoral man? Certainly not. A thing may be morally wrong, while he to whose name it is attached is innocent. "To him who knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." He who sees this subject in the light in which we regard it, and continues in the traffic, is clearly sinning against his own conscience. He who does not see it in this light can be no farther culpable than for

neglecting to examine the arguments by which his business is proved to be one which he should abandon; and if after such an examination he still think it right to persevere, he will be judged, not by our convictions, but by his own. Still the truth may be held by those who maintain that the traffic in ardent spirit is morally wrong; and by them who believe it to be the truth, it should be spoken with plainness and pressed on the consideration of people. Do we mean then that those who in former years pursued this business, and whose exertions were freely given for the good of the community, were guilty of immoral practices? We mean neither to say nor to imply any such thing. They acted under the light which they enjoyed, and lived in all good conscience; but what was innocent for them, cannot be innocent for those to whom the character of this employment appears under an entirely different aspect. The slave-trade was morally wrong when some of the most pious and benevolent men in England and America were concerned in supporting it; their involuntary ignorance was their justification. It cannot be that of their posterity.

The defences commonly offered by those who sell the means of intoxication need few words to show their real force. The vender is presumed not to know for what purpose the liquor is bought; as if he could shut his eyes to the facts that surround him, or as if in most cases he did not expressly sell it to be drunk. If one man should not sell this article, another would, and the business would better be in respectable hands, it is said; as if another's doing wrong could justify a good man in anticipating his example. Shall he then who has no other means of support for himself and his family abandon his only reliance, and expose them to the evils of poverty? This is a hard question, when addressed to the feelings, and we prefer to let the answer arise out of one or two other questions. Suppose that a merchant, who had for years been engaged in the importation of coffee or in the domestic trade in flour, should discover that the article which he had long sold was so adulterated by a poisonous admixture, that its effects were exceedingly deleterious, and he should have every reason to believe that it had carried disease and death into the families where it was used; — would he, if a man of true principle, or of fair character, continue to sell it, even to those of his customers who from

habit might have learned to prefer it to a more innocent article? Would he have any hesitation in abandoning his business, if he found it must be prosecuted to the injury of those whose patronage he might obtain? Would he hesitate to abandon it, even if it threw him out of employment, and left him with a dependent family and no resource but his own industry? But is it true, that in this country an honest and industrious man need fear poverty as his reward in such a case? To say nothing of the increase of business, which must very soon be a consequence of transforming drunkards into sober men, and by which no one would be more immediately or permanently benefited than those, who would then sell the necessaries of life to the same persons whom they now furnish with the means of intoxication; — are there not so many avenues to success, so many conditions under which an active spirit may grapple with fortune, that he need apprehend nothing more than a temporary inconvenience, and the necessity of a more moderate style of living? Or if the worst should come that can come, ought a Christian so far to distrust the Providence which gives the birds their food, as to be driven into sin by the prospect of want? or are the satisfactions that spring from virtuous sacrifice worth so much less than wealth secured at the expense of others' sufferings?

We have argued this point on the ground of Christian morality. What would be the decision of Heathen ethics, is a question of mere curiosity. As disciples of a religion whose first law of social virtue is, Do to others as you would that they should do to you, and whose Author gave up his life to save men from sin, we can allow no standard of right which overlooks the great principle of benevolence. We would neither deprive any one of his daily bread, nor wound any one's feelings; but we must say what we think, where silence would be treason against the majesty of the Christian name; and we beg those who differ from us to put aside the associations of habit and interest, and to examine this subject under the double light which duty to themselves and duty to others will throw upon it. We beg those who are just entering active life, and are enquiring how they may best employ their capital and enterprise, to consider the connexions and effects of this branch of business, before they are drawn into any share of its engagements.

On one other subject which was brought before the Convention, it was thought by the majority to be more proper that a full expression of opinion should be left to individuals. "Memorials were presented relative to the inadequacy of the license laws to promote the cause of temperance." This subject demands immediate and practical attention. No one need plead ignorance in respect to the character or operation of our license laws. The laws of the Commonwealth are open to the perusal and criticism of every citizen; and that part of our legislation which relates to the sale of ardent spirit has been criticized by an able and fearless hand, in the "Remarks" under the signature of "L. M. V." which have been extensively circulated. The effect of the oversight which the law takes of this business, may be seen in any one of the "licensed houses" in the country, or of the "licensed places" that thrust their legalized invitation to ruin upon us in every street and lane and corner of our metropolis. It is impossible to mistake the tendency of the present statute. An honest title would have been, — An Act to justify the diffusion of intemperance, especially within the city of Boston. But we are not advocates for a change in the law. We wish for its abolition. Let us have no more legislation on the subject. We want no laws which proceed on a false principle. Laws — for what? To license, that is, to make lawful, and to cover with the shield of public protection, a business which we regard as the prolific source of sin and misery,— a business hurtful to the morals, the wealth, and every other interest of the State. Why not pass laws, after this example, for the qualified encouragement of any vice? Why not license any other means of reducing man from "his high estate" to less than brute and worse than fiend? We know not that intemperance has any peculiar claim to legislative countenance, except it be the employment which it gives to various public functionaries, whose offices might be sinecures, if crime were not fed from this source. We beg those of our readers whose opinion coincides with our own upon the last topic of remark, to look at the inconsistency of maintaining in one breath that a traffic is absolutely and essentially wrong, and with the next petitioning the Legislature to determine how far it shall be right; as if all the wisdom of Massachusetts or of the Union could vote wrong into right! Be it more or less which may be

sold without a license, be it much or little which may be sold under a license, the law, we repeat, proceeds on a false principle in attempting to make the discrimination,—in presuming to grant a license to do that which an enlightened conscience must condemn.

It will doubtless be said, that an evil which cannot be extirpated must be restrained. Let us see how this defence will vindicate the license law. Suppose that hydrophobia should become so common among the canine race that the lives of people were in constant danger. Would the Legislature show their wisdom in passing a law, that only the dogs of licensed persons should run at large? Unless the owner could make it certain that his dog would bite no one, would not a license be a permission to put his neighbour's life in peril? But it will be replied, that we could kill the dogs and thus remove the evil. And cannot we persuade the retailers of ardent spirits to close their shops, and thus bring intemperance to an end? The facts, that have accumulated within the last five years, do not suggest a negative reply. Be it conceded, however, that moral means of arresting this desolation must be inefficacious. What restraint would the law impose? What restraint does it impose? Let the present number of licensed houses furnish the answer. It is not restraint, but sanction, that is the consequence of the law. If public sentiment will not give it a faithful interpretation, it is worse than useless; and if public sentiment be right, the law is not needed to anticipate or enforce its decisions.

It is therefore our earnest desire, that the people should petition the Legislature to repeal,—not to amend, but to repeal,—the license law. Erase every vestige of it from the statute-book. Let petitions to this effect cover the tables of our legislative assemblies at their next session. Some persons say, Let us wait, and in a few years men educated in the school of temperance will take their places around those tables, and then the erasure may be made without opposition. We cannot approve of this advice. We would not leave to our young men the opportunity of doing what their predecessors in office ought to do. They will gain glory enough without depriving those who are older of the privilege of retracing their errors. If it were possible, we would before another day rescue the dignity of Massachusetts from the

disgrace of proclaiming, that if one of her sons, or any one else, will do great mischief under her authority and after telling the world that he has her permission, he shall go unharmed, but if any one, native or foreigner, presume to do ever so little mischief of the same sort without obtaining her consent and publishing the fact, he shall feel the heavy arm of her punishment. We ask not for penal enactments against the traffic, for the friends of temperance do not rely on such means for accomplishing their object. Let public opinion determine whether this business shall be pursued. Let the owner's conscience and interest compel him to extinguish the fires of his distillery. Let each citizen be left free to act, but let not the law of the land sanction what a higher law prohibits.

To these four measures; — the adoption of total abstinence; the formation of societies, in which numbers constitute strength; the discouragement of the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits; and the repeal of the laws by which that which is morally wrong is made legally right, — must the temperance reformation be indebted for its progress. Time which has suggested these may disclose other measures; but for the present these are the means on which reliance is placed. The appeal in their behalf is made, not to the intemperate, but to those who are safe in their self-denial, and to those who think themselves safe in their moderation. Circumstances that would justify a louder call on the regards of the citizen and the Christian cannot easily be imagined. A vice possessing a terrible power of fascination, yet certain to entail the most destructive consequences, was overspreading the land. The artisan, the husbandman, the mariner, the high in station, the learned, the accomplished, the venerable, were falling under its power; and meanwhile the land slept as if a potion had put its moral energies to rest. The evil grew, till benevolence and patriotism could no longer be insensible to its enormity. Attention once drawn was fixed, once fixed was more and more impressed with a sense of duty, and at last, they whom it informed spake and acted with vigor. A change began, correct principles were ascertained; the change was carried on, judicious measures were devised; the change went on, new efforts were made, new zeal was infused; the change proceeded, and the country, which more than any other seemed to be sinking under its

own fatal indulgence, became the first and strongest in the work of self-reform. The voice of recovery, of amendment, of healthful improvement is now heard on our hills, in our valleys, along our sea-board, the voice of congratulation and encouragement. Now, then, is the time to invite every one to participate in the joy of completing this work. Success is no longer doubtful. Consistency and perseverance, tempered by wisdom, will effect all that is desired. Here is a cause in which men of all parties and all sects may unite. Political jealousies, religious dissensions, local prejudices are here forgotten, and hands are stricken in amity, that were never before accepted or proffered. A great moral reformation is the object, — a work more lofty even in its purposes, and more beneficial in its results, than that which placed the names of Washington and his compatriots among the benefactors of their race. A nation of drunkards is not a nation of freemen. To hasten this reformation to its fulness of blessing, demands the sympathies, prayers, and efforts of every one of the American people. It has solemn claims on the coöperation of every Christian.

The convention at Worcester has given an impulse to the cause of temperance in this Commonwealth, which will be felt through its whole extent. Nothing occurred on the occasion to excite a moment's regret, that such a meeting had been called. The members went thither with good-will towards each other, and interest in the purpose of their assembling; they departed, we believe, with an increase of both. A more effective organization was adopted for the State. The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, exchanged its name for that of the Massachusetts State Temperance Society. The officers of that Society have already shown their determination, that it shall not disappoint the hopes of its old or its new friends. There is work enough for them to do; and we trust they will receive from their fellow-citizens the encouragement of sympathy, — generous, solid sympathy, that gives something else than words. There is enough for them to do; in Boston, as our eyes tell us every day of our lives; and out of Boston, as we learn from various quarters. Heaven grant them its blessing, and man give them his help!

ART. VIII. — *American Annals of Education and Instruction.* Edited by WILLIAM C. WOODBRIDGE. Boston. 8vo.

THE work, of which we have placed the title at the head of this article, is devoted to what is generally acknowledged to be the most important interest of families and of the State. It has, therefore, no ordinary claims to patronage, especially as it is the only work of the kind published in the country. We learn, however, that the support now given it, not only falls short of its just claims, but is so insufficient, that, unless its circulation can be extended, it must be abandoned. We are not only grieved at this, but somewhat disappointed; for, although we knew the ruling passion in the community for light and amusing reading, we did hope, that the acknowledged importance of education, and the necessity laid on every parent to watch over and guide the young, would overcome the repugnance to mental labor, and would communicate an interest to details, which, separate from their end, would be dry and repulsive. It seems, however, that the community are more disposed to talk of education in general than to enter patiently and minutely into its principles and methods, more disposed to laud it than to labor for it; and on this account we feel ourselves bound to say something, however briefly and rapidly, of the obligation of regarding it as the paramount object of society, and of giving encouragement to those, who make it their task or who devote themselves to its promotion. We know that we are repeating a thrice-told tale, are inviting attention to principles which the multitude most courteously acknowledge, and as readily forget. But all great truths are apt to grow trite; and if the moral teacher should fail to enforce them, because they are worn by repetition, religious and moral teaching would well nigh cease.

One excellence of the periodical work before us is, that it is pledged to no particular system of education, but starts with the acknowledgment of the great defects of all systems, and with the disposition to receive new lights, come from what quarter they may. It is no partisan. It is the instrument of no sect. It is designed to improve our modes of training the young; to give more generous views of the objects of education and of the discipline by which they may be attained; to increase the efficiency of existing institutions,

and to aid in forming new ones more suited to our age and country; to unfold and diffuse those great, universal principles in which men of all parties may be expected to agree, and to point out the applications of them in our families and schools. Its pages are open to original suggestions, to discoveries, to the zealous reformer, and even to the too sanguine innovator. Its aim is, to be a medium of communication for all who think on the subject of education, to furnish new facts to the philosopher, and to make known the results of successful experiments. Its liberality gives it one strong claim to support.

Perhaps, if it were more confined in its views, if it were designed to answer the purposes of a party or sect, it would be better sustained. Were it to proscribe one class, and to pander to the bad passions of another, it would not perhaps be obliged to sue for more generous patronage. But is it true, that a work on education cannot find readers without assuming the badge of party? Cannot the greatness of its object secure attention to its teachings? In what class of society ought it not to find friends? What parent has not a deep interest in the improvement of public and private education? What philanthropist does not see in this the chief preparation of a people for his schemes of usefulness? What patriot does not see in this the main security of free institutions? This cause is commended alike to our private and public affections; and must the only periodical devoted to it die through neglect?

We are aware, that there are some, who take an attitude of defence, when pressed with earnest applications on the subject of education. They think its importance overrated. They say, that circumstances chiefly determine the young mind, that the influence of parents and teachers is very narrow, and that they sometimes dwarf and distort, instead of improving the child, by taking the work out of the hand of nature. These remarks are not wholly unfounded. The power of parents is often exaggerated. To strengthen their sense of responsibility, they are often taught, that they are competent to effects, which are not within their reach, and are often discouraged by the greatness of the task to which they are summoned. Nothing is gained by exaggeration. It is true, and the truth need not be disguised, that parents cannot operate at pleasure on the minds and characters of the

young. Their influence is limited by their own ignorance and imperfection, by the strength and freedom of the will of the child, and by its connexion, from its first breath, with other objects and beings. Parents are not the only educators of their offspring, but must divide the work with other and numerous agents; and in this we rejoice; for, were the young confined to domestic influences, each generation would be a copy of the preceding, and the progress of society would cease. The child is not put into the hands of parents alone. It is not born to hear but a few voices. It is brought at birth into a vast, we may say, an infinite school. The universe is charged with the office of its education. Innumerable voices come to it from all that it meets, sees, feels. It is not confined to a few books anxiously selected for it by parental care. Nature, society, experience, are volumes opened every where and perpetually before its eyes. It takes lessons from every object within the sphere of its senses and its activity, from the sun and stars, from the flowers of spring and the fruits of autumn, from every associate, from every smiling and frowning countenance, from the pursuits, trades, professions of the community in which it moves, from its plays, friendships, and dislikes, from the varieties of human character, and from the consequences of its actions. All these, and more than these, are appointed to teach, awaken, develope the mind of the child. It is plunged amidst friendly and hostile influences, to grow by coöperating with the first, and by resisting the last. The circumstances in which we are placed, form, indeed, a most important school, and by their help some men have risen to distinction in knowledge and virtue, with little aid from parents, teachers, and books.

Still the influence of parents and teachers is great. On them it very much depends, whether the circumstances which surround the child shall operate to his good. They must help him to read, interpret, and use wisely the great volumes of nature, society, and experience. They must fix his volatile glance, arrest his precipitate judgment, guide his observation, teach him to link together cause and effect in the outward world, and turn his thoughts inward on his own more mysterious nature. The young, left to the education of circumstances, left without teaching, guidance, restraint, will, in all probability, grow up ignorant, torpid in intellect, strangers to their own powers, and slaves to their

passions. The fact, that some children, without aid from parents or schools, have struggled into eminence, no more proves such aid to be useless, than the fact, that some have grown strong under physical exposures which would destroy the majority of the race, would prove the worthlessness of the ordinary precautions which are taken for the security of health.

We have spoken of parents, as possessing, and as bound to exert, an important influence on the young. But they cannot do the whole work of education. Their daily occupation, the necessity of labors for the support of their families, household cares, the duty of watching over the health of their children, and other social relations, render it almost impossible for parents to qualify themselves for much of the teaching which the young require, and often deny them time and opportunity for giving instruction to which they are competent. Hence the need of a class of persons, who shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of education. In all societies, ancient and modern, this want has been felt; the profession of teachers has been known; and to secure the best helps of this kind to children, is one of the first duties of parents, for on these the progress of their children very much depends.

One of the discouraging views of society at the present moment is, that whilst much is said of education, hardly any seem to feel the necessity of securing to it the best minds in the community, and of securing them at any price. A juster estimate of this office begins to be made in our great cities; but generally it seems to be thought, that any body may become a teacher. The most moderate ability is thought to be competent to the most important profession in society. Strange, too, as it may seem, on this point parents incline to be economical. They who squander thousands on dress, furniture, amusements, think it hard to pay comparatively small sums to the instructer; and through this ruinous economy, and this ignorance of the dignity of a teacher's vocation, they rob their children of aid, for which the treasures of worlds can afford no compensation.

There is no office higher than that of a teacher of youth, for there is nothing on earth so precious as the mind, soul, character of the child. No office should be regarded with greater respect. The first minds in the community should

be encouraged to assume it. Parents should do all but impoverish themselves, to induce such to become the guardians and guides of their children. To this good, all their show and luxury should be sacrificed. Here they should be lavish, whilst they straiten themselves in every thing else. They should wear the cheapest clothes, live on the plainest food, if they can in no other way secure to their families the best instruction. They should have no anxiety to accumulate property for their children, provided they can place them under influences, which will awaken their faculties, inspire them with pure and high principles, and fit them to bear a manly, useful, and honorable part in the world. No language can express the cruelty or folly of that economy, which, to leave a fortune to a child, starves his intellect, impoverishes his heart. There should be no economy in education. Money should never be weighed against the soul of a child. It should be poured out like water, for the child's intellectual and moral life.

Parents should seek an educator for the young of their families, who will become to them a hearty and efficient friend, counsellor, coadjutor, in their work. If their circumstances will allow it, they should so limit the school, that the instructer may know intimately every child, may become the friend of each, and may converse frequently with them in regard to each. He should be worthy of their confidence, should find their doors always open, should be among their most welcome guests, and should study with them the discipline which the peculiarities of each pupil may require. He should give the parents warning of the least obliquity of mind which he discovers at school, should receive in return their suggestions as to the injudiciousness of his own methods in regard to one or another child, and should concert with them the means of arresting every evil at its first manifestation. Such is the teacher we need, and his value cannot be paid in gold. A man of distinguished ability and virtue, whose mind should be concentrated in the work of training as many children as he can thoroughly understand and guide, would shed a light on the path of parents for which they often sigh, and would give an impulse to the young, little comprehended under our present modes of teaching. No profession should receive so liberal remuneration. We need not say how far the community fall short

of this estimate of the teacher's office. Very many send their children to school, and seldom or never see the instructer, who is operating daily and deeply on their minds and characters. With a blind confidence, perhaps they do not ask how that work is advancing, on which the dearest interests of the family depend. Perhaps they put the children under the daily control of one, with whom they do not care to associate. Perhaps, were they told what they ought to pay for teaching, they would stare as if a project for robbing them were on foot, or would suspect the sanity of the friend, who should counsel them to throw away so much money in purchasing that cheapest of all articles, that drug in every market, instruction for their children.

We know not how society can be aided more than by the formation of a body of wise and efficient educators. We know not any class which would contribute so much to the stability of the state, and to domestic happiness. Much as we respect the ministry of the gospel, we believe that it must yield in importance to the office of training the young. In truth, the ministry now accomplishes little for want of that early intellectual and moral discipline, by which alone a community can be prepared to distinguish truth from falsehood, to comprehend the instructions of the pulpit, to receive higher and broader views of duty, and to apply general principles to the diversified details of life. A body of cultivated men, devoted, with their whole hearts, to the improvement of education, and to the most effectual training of the young, would work a fundamental revolution in society. They would leaven the community with just principles. Their influence would penetrate our families. Our domestic discipline would no longer be left to accident and impulse. What parent has not felt the need of this aid, has not often been depressed, heart-sick, under the consciousness of ignorance in the great work of swaying the youthful mind!

We have spoken of the office of the education of human beings, as the noblest on earth, and have spoken deliberately. It is more important than that of the statesman. The statesman may set fences round our property and dwellings; but how much more are we indebted to him, who calls forth the powers and affections of those for whom our pro-

perty is earned, and our dwellings are reared, and who renders our children objects of increasing love and respect. We go further. We maintain, that higher ability is required for the office of an educator of the young, than for that of a statesman. The highest ability is that, which penetrates farthest into human nature, comprehends the mind in all its capacities, traces out the laws of thought and moral action, understands the perfection of human nature and how it may be approached, understands the springs, motives, applications, by which the child is to be roused to the most vigorous and harmonious action of all its faculties, understands its perils, and knows how to blend and modify the influences which outward circumstances exert on the youthful mind. The speculations of statesmen are shallow, compared with these. It is the chief function of the statesman to watch over the outward interests of a people; that of the educator to quicken its soul. The statesman must study and manage the passions and prejudices of the community; the educator must study the essential, the deepest, the loftiest principles of human nature. The statesman works with coarse instruments for coarse ends; the educator is to work by the most refined influences on that delicate, ethereal essence, the immortal soul.

Nothing is more common than mistakes as to the comparative importance of the different vocations of life. Noisy, showy agency, which is spread over a great surface, and therefore seldom penetrates beneath the surface, is called glory. Multitudes are blinded by official dignity, and stand wondering at a pigmy, because he happens to be perched on some eminence in church or state. So the declaimer, who can electrify a crowd by passionate appeals, or splendid images, which give no clear perceptions to the intellect, which develope no general truth, which breathe no firm, disinterested purpose, passes for a great man. How few reflect, that the greater man is he, who, without noise or show, is wisely fixing in a few minds broad, pregnant, generous principles of judgment and action, and giving an impulse which will carry them on for ever. Jesus, with that divine wisdom which separates him from all other teachers, declared, that the first requisite for becoming "great in his kingdom," which was another phrase for exerting a great moral influence, was Humility; by which

he meant a spirit opposed to that passion for conspicuous station with which he saw his disciples inflamed, a spirit of deep, unpretending philanthropy, manifested in sympathy with the wants of the mind, and in condescension to any efforts by which the ignorant and tempted might be brought to truth and virtue. According to these views, we think it a greater work to educate a child, in the true and large sense of that phrase, than to rule a state.

Perhaps the direction which benevolence is taking at the present day, has some influence in turning from the office of education the high honor which is its due. Benevolence is now directing itself very much to public objects, to the alleviation of misery on a grand scale, to the conversion of whole nations, to the instruction of large bodies, and in this form it draws the chief notice and admiration of multitudes. Now we are far from wishing to confine this action of charity. We respect it, and recognsie in it one of the distinctive fruits of Christianity. But it must not be forgotten, that the purest benevolence is that which acts on Individuals, and is manifested in our particular, social, domestic relations. It requires no great improvement in charity, to sympathize with the degradation and misery, into which the millions of India are sunk by the worship of Juggernaut, and other superstitions. It is a higher action of the intellect and heart, to study and understand thoroughly the character of an individual who is near us, to enter into his mind, to trace his defects and sufferings to their true springs, to bear quietly and gently with his frowardness and relapses, and to apply to him patiently and encouragingly the means of intellectual and moral elevation. It is not the highest attainment, to be benevolent to those who are thousands of miles from us, whose miseries make striking pictures for the imagination, who never cross our paths, never interfere with our interests, never try us by their waywardness, never shock us by their coarse manners, and whom we are to aid by an act of bounty, which sends a missionary to their aid. The truest mode of enlarging our benevolence, is not to quicken our sensibility towards great masses, or wide-spread evils, but to approach, comprehend, sympathize with, and act upon a continually increasing number of individuals. It is the glory of God to know, love, and act on every individual in his infinite creation. Let us, if we can, do good far and wide. Let us send light and joy,

if we can, to the ends of the earth. The charity, which is now active for distant objects, is noble. We only wish to say, that it ranks behind the obscurer philanthropy, which, while it sympathizes with the race, enters deeply into the minds, wants, interests of the individuals within its reach, and devotes itself patiently and wisely to the task of bringing them to a higher standard of intellectual and moral worth.

We would suggest it to those who are anxious to do good on a grand and imposing scale, that *they* should be the last to cast into the shade the labors of the retired teacher of the young; because education is the germ of all other improvements, and because all their schemes for the progress of society must fail without it. How often have the efforts of the philanthropist been foiled, by the prejudices and brutal ignorance of the community which he has hoped to serve, by their incapacity of understanding him, of entering into and coöperating with his views. He has cast his seed on the barren sand, and of course reaped no fruit but disappointment. Philanthropists are too apt to imagine, that they can accomplish particular reformations, or work particular changes in a society, although no foundation for these improvements has been laid in its intellectual and moral culture. They expect a people to think and act wisely in special cases, although generally wanting in intelligence, sound judgment, and the capacity of understanding and applying the principles of reason. But this partial improvement is a vain hope. The physician, who should spend his skill on a diseased limb, whilst all the functions were deranged, and the principle of life almost extinguished, would get no credit for skill. To do men permanent good, we must act on their whole nature, and especially must aid, foster, and guide their highest faculties, at the first period of their developement. If left in early life to sink into intellectual and moral torpor, if suffered to grow up unconscious of their powers, unused to steady and wise exertion of the understanding, and strangers to the motives which ought to stir and guide human activity, they will be poor subjects for the efforts of the philanthropist. Benevolence is short-sighted indeed, and must blame itself for failure, if it do not see in education the chief interest of the human race.

One great cause of the low estimation in which the teacher is now held, may be found in narrow views of education.

The multitude think, that to educate a child, is to crowd into its mind a given amount of knowledge, to teach the mechanism of reading and writing, to load the memory with words, to prepare a boy for the routine of a trade. No wonder, then, that they think almost every body fit to teach. The true end of education, as we have again and again suggested, is to unfold and direct aright our whole nature. Its office is to call forth Power of every kind, power of thought, affection, will, and outward action; power to observe, to reason, to judge, to contrive; power to adopt good ends firmly, and to pursue them efficiently; power to govern ourselves, and to influence others; power to gain and to spread happiness. Reading is but an instrument; education is to teach its best use. The intellect was created, not to receive passively a few words, dates, facts, but to be active for the acquisition of Truth. Accordingly, educatiou should labor to inspire a profound love of truth, and to teach the processes of investigation. A sound logic, by which we mean the science or art, which instructs us in the laws of reasoning and evidence, in the true methods of inquiry, and in the sources of false judgments, is an essential part of a good education. And yet how little is done to teach the right use of the intellect, in the common modes of training either rich or poor. As a general rule, the young are to be made, as far as possible, their own teachers, the discoverers of truth, the interpreters of nature, the framers of science. They are to be helped to help themselves. They should be taught to observe and study the world in which they live, to trace the connexions of events, to rise from particular facts to general principles, and then to apply these in explaining new phenomena. Such is a rapid outline of the intellectual education, which, as far as possible, should be given to all human beings; and with this, moral education should go hand in hand. In proportion as the child gains knowledge, he should be taught how to use it well, how to turn it to the good of mankind. He should study the world as God's world, and as the sphere in which which he is to form interesting connexions with his fellow creatures. A spirit of humanity should be breathed into him from all his studies. In teaching geography, the physical and moral condition, the wants, advantages, and striking peculiarities of different nations, and the relations of climate, seas, rivers, mountains, to their char-

acters and pursuits, should be pointed out, so as to awaken an interest in man, wherever he dwells. History should be constantly used to exercise the moral judgment of the young, to call forth sympathy with the fortunes of the human race, and to expose to indignation and abhorrence, that selfish ambition, that passion for dominion, which has so long deluged the earth with blood and woe. And not only should the excitement of just moral feeling be proposed in every study. The science of morals should form an important part of every child's instruction. One branch of ethics should be particularly insisted on by the government. Every school, established by law, should be specially bound to teach the duties of the citizen to the state, to unfold the principles of free institutions, and to train the young to an enlightened patriotism. From these brief and imperfect views of the nature and ends of a wise education, we learn the dignity of the profession to which it is entrusted, and the importance of securing to it the best minds of the community.

On reviewing these hints on the extent of education, we see that one important topic has been omitted. We have said, that it is the office of the teacher to call into vigorous action the mind of the child. He must do more. He must strive to create a thirst, an insatiable craving for knowledge, to give animation to study and make it a pleasure, and thus to communicate an impulse which will endure, when the instructions of the school are closed. The mark of a good teacher is, not only that he produces great effort in his pupils, but that he dismisses them from his care, conscious of having only laid the foundation of knowledge, and anxious and resolved to improve themselves. One of the sure signs of the low state of instruction among us is, that the young, on leaving school, feel as if the work of intellectual culture were done, and give up steady, vigorous effort for higher truth and wider knowledge. Our daughters at sixteen and our sons at eighteen or twenty have *finished* their education. The true use of a school is, to enable and dispose the pupil to learn through life; and if so, who does not see that the office of teacher requires men of enlarged and liberal minds, and of winning manners, in other words, that it requires as cultivated men as can be found in society. If to drive and to drill were the chief duties of an instructer, if to force into the mind an amount of lifeless knowledge, to make

the child a machine, to create a repugnance to books, to mental labor, to the acquisition of knowledge, were the great objects of the school-room, then the teacher might be chosen on the principles which now govern the school-committees in no small part of our country. Then the man who can read, write, cypher, and whip, and will exercise his gifts at the lowest price, deserves the precedence which he now too often enjoys. But if the human being be something more than a block or a brute, if he have powers which proclaim him a child of God and which were given for noble action and perpetual progress, then a better order of things should begin among us, and truly enlightened men should be summoned to the work of education.

Leaving the subject of instruction, we observe that there is another duty of teachers, which requires that they should be taken from the class of improved, wise, virtuous men. They are to govern as well as teach. They must preserve order, and for this end must inflict punishment in some of its forms. We know that some philanthropists wish to banish all punishment from the school. We would not discourage their efforts and hopes; but we fear, that the time for this reform is not yet come, and that as long as the want of a wise discipline at home supplies the teacher with so many lawless subjects, he will be compelled to use other restraints than kindness and reason. Punishment, we fear, cannot be dispensed with; but that it ought to be administered most deliberately, righteously, judiciously, and with a wise adaptation to the character of the child, we all feel; and can it then be safely entrusted, as is too much the case, to teachers undisciplined in mind and heart? Corporal punishment at present has a place in almost all our schools for boys, and perhaps in some for girls. It may be necessary. But ought not every parent to have some security, that his child shall not receive a blow, unless inflicted in wisdom, justice, and kindness? And what security can he have for this, but in the improved character of the instructer? We have known mournful effects of injudicious corporal punishment. We have known a blow to alienate a child from his father, to stir up bitter hatred towards his teacher, and to indispose him to study and the pursuit of knowledge. We cannot be too unwilling to place our children under the care of passionate teachers, who, having no rule over their own spirits, cannot of course rule others, or of weak and unskilful teachers,

who are obliged to supply by severity the want of a wise firmness. It is wonderful how thoughtlessly parents expose their children to corporal punishment. Our laws have expunged whipping from the penal code, and the felon is exempted from this indignity. But how many boys are subjected to a whipper in the shape of a school-master, whose whole mystery of discipline lies in the ferule? The discipline of a school is of vast importance in its moral influence. A boy compelled for six hours each day to see the countenance and hear the voice of an unfeeling, petulant, passionate, unjust teacher, is placed in a school of vice. He is all the time learning lessons of inhumanity, hard-heartedness, and injustice. The English are considered by the rest of Europe as inclined to cruelty. Their common people are said to be wanting in mercy to the inferior animals and to be ferocious in their quarrels, and their planters enjoy the bad preëminence of being the worst masters in the West Indies, with the exception of the Dutch. It is worth consideration, whether these vices, if they really exist, may not be ascribed in part to the unrestrained, barbarous use of whipping in their schools. Of one thing we are sure, that the discipline of a school has an important influence on the character of a child, and that a just, mild, benevolent teacher, who procures order by methods which the moral sense of his pupils approves, is perpetually spreading around him his own virtues. Should not our teachers then be sought from the class of the most enlightened and excellent men?

Our limits allow us to add but one more remark on the qualifications of teachers. It is important, that they should be able to coöperate with parents in awakening the religious principle in the young. We would not of course admit into schools the peculiarities of the denominations which divide the Christian world. But religion in its broadest sense should be taught. It should indirectly mix with all teaching. The young mind should be guided through nature and human history to the Creator and Disposer of the Universe; and still more, the practical principles and spirit of Christianity should be matters of direct inculcation. We know no office requiring greater wisdom, and none but the wise and good should be invited to discharge it.

We know that it will be objected to the views now given, that few, very few will be able to pay for such teachers as we recommend. We believe, however, that there is a large

class, who if they had the will, and would deny themselves as they ought, might procure excellent instructers for their children; and as for the rest, let them do their best, let them but throw their hearts into this cause, and improvements will be effected, which have not been anticipated, perhaps not conceived. We acknowledge, however, that our remarks have been intended chiefly for the opulent. Let an interest in education be awakened in this class, and let more generous means for its promotion be employed, and we are satisfied that the teaching of all classes will be advanced. The talent of the country will be more and more directed to the office of instruction, and the benefit will spread through the whole community.

We have now treated, however imperfectly, of the importance of education, and of the dignity and claims of the office of teacher. In the course of our remarks, we have again and again referred to the low views and gross errors in respect to these subjects, which prevail among us; and we cannot conclude this article without expressing more fully our conviction of the need of a reform through almost our whole country. We are given, as a people, to boast of our means of education; and one cause of the limited patronage extended to the "Annals", is the general feeling that our present system is too good to need much thought or improvement. What then is the state of education in our country?

The state of education is such, as, in our opinion, to furnish ground, not for boasting, but humiliation. We have indeed in some favored spots good schools, and in these are found excellent teachers, whose society and friendship are valued by our most respectable and distinguished citizens. But of these we are not speaking. We look over our country, and the desolation, which meets our eyes, would make our hearts sink, did we not believe that there is a spirit of improvement in this people to which all obstructions are to give way. In the numbers of the "Annals of Education" for August and September there are two invaluable papers on the "Juvenile Population of the United States." The Editor deserves all praise for the labor he has spent on these important articles. They ought to be read by every man who has any concern for the intellectual and moral condition of the country. The calculations in these documents cannot from the nature of the case be relied on as minutely ex-

act; but after making allowances for the want of thorough investigation in every State, the particulars which they disclose, are appalling. We have not time to analyze these papers, but ask the attention of our readers to a single result. In the States to the south and west of New England and New York, it is computed, that there are more than a *million* of white children, between 5 and 15 years of age, who attend no school, and are growing up without the common means of instruction.* The Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools say in their Report, that, of 400,000 children in Pennsylvania between 5 and 15 years of age, only 150,000 were in all the schools of the State in 1830. The report of an association for this object in New Jersey informs us, that there are 11,742 children entirely destitute of instruction, and about 15,000 adults unable to read. From the Census of Kentucky in 1830, which by the agency of President Peers included the number of children not at school, it appears that there were 143,738 children from 5 to 15, of whom 103,337 were not at school. "Tell it not in Gath." How can we, with these facts glaring on us, lift up our heads before the world, and talk of free institutions as the means of spreading knowledge, and of elevating the mass of the community.

When we come to New England, the prospect brightens; but adequate means for forming an intelligent population are wanting, and we find few proofs of a just estimate of education. Foreigners, who hear that all the children in this part of the United States are instructed, naturally suppose, that they attend permanent schools; but the truth is, that the winter schools in the country, which are kept by male teachers, and which furnish the whole instruction to boys above eight or nine years of age, continue but a small part of the year.† The average time in villages is perhaps fourteen weeks; but in districts beyond the villages, it is so much shorter, that it is thought, that the boys in New England of the age before named do not, on an average, attend school more than ten weeks in the year. Hardly any of these schools are furnished with any apparatus of maps, globes, engravings, specimens, or philosophical instruments. We recommend

* In the "Annals," the number of uneducated children in that region, between 5 and 15 years of age, is estimated at 1,400,000; but we have chosen to speak more indefinitely in order to avoid exaggeration.

† We understand that the women's schools kept in summer are seldom attended by boys above 8 or 9 years old.

to our readers the "Report of the Directors of the American School Agents' Society," given in the October number of the "Annals." We are there informed, that in the State of Connecticut, "the average compensation for male teachers is about 11 dollars a month, and a dollar a week for females," being less wages than are given to many domestics in our families, and to many laborers on our farms. In Massachusetts we are not so fallen; but our schools are not essentially better than those in our sister State. One Agent states, that "in the region he visited, the state of schools was lamentably low, the books antiquated, and the teachers very deficient in qualifications for the office. Teachers simply follow the course of questions in the books, continually impeded by a want of thorough knowledge on the subjects." An Agent in another State, not named, observes, that "in consequence of the long vacations and imperfect instruction, it is a common fact, that children forget nearly all that they have learned from one year to another. As you recede from the influence of the larger towns or more populous sections of the country, you will find bad school-houses, worse books, and worst instructers, little interest in school-committees, less in parents, and least in pupils." School-houses are complained of as often small, poorly lighted, and placed and built without any regard to the health of the pupils.

In the more populous places, the schools are much improved; and it is the boast of Boston, perhaps a just one, to have made more extensive and liberal provision for public instruction than any other town or city. This city has three divisions of schools, namely, Primary, Grammar, and High Schools. The last, of which there are two, are not surpassed by any schools in the country. The second, which are much the most important, and at which the most of the children are taught, must receive more qualified praise. That they have improved and are improving, that they have respectable and faithful teachers, and that the results are as favorable as the circumstances of the case will admit, we are happy to acknowledge. But when we say, that a school of two hundred boys has but two teachers, we need add nothing to show, that the results must be very imperfect. Among the enlightened and experienced men with whom we have conversed on the subject of education, we have never found one, who has thought that more than forty boys should be committed to one teacher. Almost all have named a

smaller number. We believe that twenty should be preferred, where the expense can be borne. It is impossible that one teacher can do justice to the minds of one hundred children. Much of their time must be wasted. They cannot make improvements proportionate to the years which they spend in these crowded schools, and parents should earnestly desire and seek for them greater advantages.

The deficiencies of our country on the subject of education have been brought home to us very powerfully by the perusal of an Abstract of the System of National Instruction in Prussia, taken from the Report of the celebrated Cousin, who was sent by the French government to examine the institutions of Germany. In Prussia every child is taught, and must be taught, for a penalty is inflicted on parents who neglect to send their children to school. The course of instruction in the towns of Prussia is more extensive than in ours, and the comparative advantages of the schools in the country are still greater. Monarchical Prussia does more for the intellectual and moral improvement of her subjects, than republican America has ever thought of doing for her citizens. — In Prussia, it is required "that the school-houses be in healthy situations, of sufficient size, well-aired. Attached must be a garden of suitable size, &c., and applicable to the instruction of the pupils; and where possible, before the school-house, a gravelled play-ground and place for gymnastic exercises." There are also to be provided "a complement of books for the use of master and scholar according to the degree of the schools, a collection of maps and geographical instruments, models for drawing and writing, music, &c., instruments and collections for natural history and mathematics, the apparatus for gymnastic exercises, and, where this is taught, the tools and machines necessary for technological instruction. — In Prussia, the Minister of Instruction is one of the most important ministers of the state. The Department of instruction is organized as carefully as that of war or the treasury, and is intended to act on every district and family in the kingdom. In New England, it is no man's business to watch over public education. We have indeed school-committees, but consisting of men, almost always too busy to take a faithful oversight of the schools, and often too ignorant for the office. In Massachusetts not one functionary is supported at the expense

of the State to ascertain the condition of our schools, and to give his time and mind to the improvement of these invaluable institutions. No serious responsibility in respect to public education rests any where. In New York, we understand, much good has resulted from the appointment of a Superintendent of schools; and until one or more enlightened and zealous individuals shall be appointed to a similar office in this Commonwealth, we despair of any great improvement of our modes of public instruction. — In Prussia too, there is a liberal provision for the formation of skilful and able teachers. Several seminaries are established for this purpose alone. These are regarded as essential to the success of the system, and they are fostered with a munificence and care, showing the resolution of the government to secure, not nominal, but efficient teachers to the whole community. We are not aware, that in this country a single school for teachers is supported at the public expense. How much would be gained, if every state should send one of its most distinguished citizens to examine the modes of teaching at home and in Europe, and should then place him at the head of a seminary for the formation of teachers.

The view now taken of education in our country shows us, that, whilst we boast of free institutions, their happiest influence and chief end is little understood. Their greatest glory is, to furnish abundantly the means of moral and intellectual developement, to enlarge and ennoble the human mind. Free institutions should constantly and powerfully tend to produce a state of society, in which there shall be no populace, no lower class, no common people; in which the multitude shall not be looked down upon as an inferior race by the more prosperous members of the community; in which the only important distinctions, those of the intellect and heart, shall be placed within reach of all; in which refined manners, liberal sentiments, and the pleasures of taste and imagination shall be more and more diffused throughout all conditions and vocations; in which justice shall be done to human nature in whatever sphere it may be placed. This is the true good, the grand purpose of free institutions, and to this they should make constant approaches. And is such their tendency here? Let the great proportion of our population, given up to ignorance and degradation, answer. Let the thousands and ten thousands of our children, growing up without the ordinary means of education, answer.

Let the thousands and ten thousands of our children, who, whilst sent to school, receive a mechanical education which gives no force to the intellect, answer. Let the thousands of adults in our cities, who are unimproved in intellect, immersed in sensuality, untaught in the duties of citizens, coarse in manners, and fit tools for demagogues to work with, answer. The best fruits of free institutions are found but sparingly among us, and yet we boast of our freedom.

To meet these wants, to improve our modes of teaching, to make instruction more efficient and extensive, is the object of the "Annals of Education." Its editor perhaps understands better the state of education in this and other countries than any man among us, and his whole heart is in his work. The aim of this periodical has been, to give just ideas of the extent of a wise and good education, to show that it proposes at once the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious advancement of the human being, to show the distinction between mechanical instruction and that which quickens the mind and brings it into vigorous action, to show the importance and to teach the methods of the latter, and to recommend and teach the moral and religious care of the young, without entering into the peculiarities of any body of Christians. — The work has been complained of as wanting interest, but we believe that the blame rests on the reader as much as on the author. The Editor has probably given ground for this complaint, in consequence of the supposition, very natural to an ardent mind, that the community, and especially the body of teachers, were prepared to enter into the subject with his own zeal. Returning from Europe, after a patient examination of the most approved modes of teaching, he imagined that nothing was needed to attract attention, but a simple exposition of his observations. He especially supposed, that a minute account of the school of Fellenberg, the most celebrated in the world, would be gladly received from one, who had spent months on the spot, and enjoyed every opportunity of studying its spirit and details. The experiment, however, has shown, that little disposition exists among us to study the improvements of other countries. — Another obstacle to the popularity of the work may be found in the simplicity of the object. People grow weary of one subject. The repetition of one word, though that word be Education, and though it include an infinite variety of subjects, has the effect of monotony.

So serious is this difficulty, that did not education come home to the bosom of every parent and family, we should despair of its being overcome. — Another fault found with the book has been, that it is too much adapted to professed teachers, and not enough to parents. In this respect, we believe, an improvement will be made. Indeed, we are confident that the Editor, if encouraged, will spare no effort to made his work more acceptable and useful, and we trust encouragement will not be denied.

We are aware that the free disclosures we have made of the defects of our institutions, and the free strictures we have made on them, will not find favor with those, who think it every man's duty to speak well of his country. We think, on the contrary, that those best serve their country, who speak the truth, be it in praise or in blame. We care not how widely our defects are made known, for we see not how else the remedy is to be applied. We do indeed deserve the reproaches of Europe in regard to education, and let them be heaped on us, until shame, if not a better principle, shall lead us to reformation. The single fact, that a vast multitude of uneducated and poorly educated children are growing up among us, afflicts us inexpressibly more than all the calumnies, which have been forged against us by European travellers and politicians. We are indignant, indeed, when we hear, that falsehood in relation to this country is industriously propagated abroad, for the purpose of bringing reproach on free institutions. But this indignation almost passes from our minds, when we consider our own unfaithfulness to our high trust; when we consider that a generation is growing up, to which our civil and religious liberties cannot safely be committed. This people ought to be awakened to their treachery to the holy cause of freedom and humanity. Our politicians are crying Peace, when there is no peace, and our orators soothing the country with honied accents of praise. We hope, that impartial judges and fearless reprovers will arise among us, and that truth, taught by a voice more powerful than ours, will bring conviction to a people, who are violating their obligations to themselves and to their children, to freedom and to mankind.

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Art. I. — *The Character of Christ, the Interpretation of Christianity; with an Exposition of the Circumstances of his Resurrection.*

An intimate and exact acquaintance with the facts of our Saviour's history is of the first importance. If a true knowledge of Christianity is ever to be obtained, it must be through a clear understanding of all that was said and done and endured by its author. What is Christianity? The answer of this ever-recurring question has been sought long enough in the creeds of sects, and with results sufficiently unsatisfactory. It is not the writings of Christians of one period or another, but the life, the whole life of Jesus Christ, — not any disconnected words or works of his, but the whole living, speaking, doing, and suffering being, as he is exhibited in the brief and simple histories transmitted to us, that embodies and expresses his religion in its unveiled and perfect integrity. The truth as it is in Jesus is not to be found any where out of him. Be it an earth-born superstition, or a heavenly gift, of miraculous or of merely human origin, whatever Christianity is, there alone is it to be sought, and there only found.

This doctrine may seem very familiar. And so it is in some aspects, but not in all. Its application to the multitudes, who, like "the *Irish* gentleman in search of a religion," are looking for Christianity every where but in the Scriptures, is obvious, and is continually made. But there are those who, while they accord to the New Testament the sole authority of determining what Christianity is, are disposed to take their ideas of Christianity from separate por-

tions of the Christian records, without reference to any very well defined principle of selection. In general terms, they profess to adopt the simple moral precepts of the New Testament, and to let the rest go as matters of very little moment. They appear to think it abundantly enough to entitle a man to be denominated a believer in Christianity, that he assents to the abstract rules of duty which it prescribes. They feel no strong interest in the personal history of its Founder. How he lived, what he was, whether the wonderful works ascribed to him were really miraculous or not, or whether he actually rose from the dead, these they regard as questions of little practical value. "We have," say they, "the plain moral injunctions of the New Testament. They approve themselves to our feelings. Why should we trouble ourselves about points on which there has always been so much disagreement, and which present so many difficulties?" Thus, barely assenting to the precepts of the Christian faith, they have no actual acquaintance with its author. Possibly, they believe that such a person once existed. But they have no deep and inspiring love of his character, no conception of any high and vital relation sustained by him to the world. That this way of thinking is often resorted to as a refuge of indolence, and a protection from the arduous task of deciding upon points of greater or less difficulty, it is no violation of charity to presume. Its vagueness recommends it to those whose principles of thought, sapped and loosened by concealed skeptical tendencies, cannot sustain a positive and substantial faith. It must however be confessed, that it is sufficiently plausible to impose upon not a few intelligent and well disposed minds. Especially when we consider how naturally the errors and absurdities and controversies, with which the church has teemed, have driven men to those simple moral truths, about which there has been comparatively but little dispute, as affording the only firm resting-place. When so many conflicting answers have been returned to the question, "What think ye of Christ?" it is no wonder, that, to the host of errors already existing, this, if not the worst yet a very serious error, should be added, the error of supposing that it is no matter what is thought of Christ, or whether he be thought of at all, except in a manner the most vague, provided his moral instructions are received. I will only add in this connexion, that this

loose form of opinion seems to prevail extensively, and that even those who are far from doubting the divine origin of Christianity, or the exalted office of its author, appear sometimes to regard the particulars of the New Testament narrative as matters of inferior importance or entire indifference, and to look upon all attempts to arrive at the precise facts recorded, as only curious speculations at best, which lead to few or no practical results, and might perhaps be better let alone.

Now it is in strong opposition to all such modes of thinking, that I urge the doctrine which I commenced with stating; and I cherish a sense of its importance, which I almost despair of being able to express. It is with no ordinary conviction of truth that I repeat what I began with observing, that we know what Christianity is, only as we have a thorough and accurate knowledge of the whole moral being of Jesus Christ, as he is set forth in the accounts of him which have come down to us. It is his character, displayed in the details of the Gospel history, which gives to Christianity its profound moral significance. I do not deny, I believe that the moral precepts of Christ are unsurpassed in their way, that when collected together they form a moral system, to which all the records of human wisdom can bring no parallel. Still, if you take the abstract moral precepts of Christianity and neglect the rest, you make its excellence only comparative. Whereas if it is what I firmly believe it to be, and what the character of its author teaches me it is, to say that it is the best religion in the world is to give it its very lowest praise. In truth, it transcends all other religions as much as a living form exceeds a marble statue, or the stupendous temple of nature the frail edifices of man.

Christianity is a spiritual thing. Its business is with our spiritual nature, — our relations to the Invisible. This is its character, whether it is regarded as a divine revelation or not. Viewed simply as a mode of religion, it is, of course, spiritual. This is the very nature of a religion, and gives it its claim to be considered as such. Now it is not words, verbal propositions and precepts, that can adequately define moral truths, spiritual things. In fact, words, strictly speaking, cannot define any thing. They are arbitrary, artificial signs, employed to designate ideas or perceptions, already existing more or less distinctly in the mind. There is no

natural connexion between words and the things which they signify, so that by only knowing the name of an object, you can recognise the object itself. By no construction of language, however elaborate, can you give a blind man the least idea of colors. So also with regard to moral truths, relations, and principles, the language in which these things are spoken of may be very common and familiar, and yet it is really intelligible to us, only so far as we have some knowledge of these subjects, either through our own consciousness, or as we have witnessed the action of the moral world around us. Take any inward affection of our nature; — for instance, the love of a parent for his offspring. If we may suppose an individual, who not only had never felt, but had never witnessed this affection, could the most ingenious and eloquent array of words enable him to form any conception of it? Would they be any thing more to him than a mere string of unmeaning marks or sounds? Let us turn now to our religion. Christianity has to do with moral or spiritual subjects. It speaks of our moral relations, duties, and destinies. This we believe it has done as was never done before, and in a manner so characterized by the simplicity and sublimity of nature, that we hear in it the voice of the living God. It has sent a broad light into the depths, and over the whole extent of the spiritual world, and has disclosed the intimate and lofty relations which man sustains to the Invisible and the Eternal. But how are we to arrive at the full spiritual import of Christianity, so that we may feel that it is a Revelation, not only on account of the extraordinary methods by which it was introduced into the world, but, more emphatically, because of the originality and perfection of its moral disclosures? Shall we collect the moral instructions, the precepts and discourses of Jesus Christ, and interpret them as we may, and denominate the result, Christianity? I assert with confidence, it will not be Christianity, but, if not a religious system wholly foreign to it, yet at best a shrunken, shrivelled shadow, bearing the least possible likeness to the true religion of Jesus. Not that the moral instructions of the New Testament are wholly incapable of being understood, when separated from him by whom they were uttered, — I am very far from meaning any such thing. They are intelligible in a degree to the humblest intellect; because every individual is more or less ob-

surely conscious of a moral nature, and every individual witnesses moral action in others, and consequently has some knowledge, more or less distinct, of those things to which the teachings of Jesus relate. These instructions therefore are not wholly unintelligible to any one. But when we undertake to explain the precepts of Jesus Christ, without the closest reference to his character and life, we can understand and interpret them only through our own imperfect moral consciousness, or the partial and broken displays of moral truth and beauty which have fallen within our observation. Consequently the meaning we give them is correspondingly imperfect and partial, and is as far from being the meaning, which they had as they came from the large and spiritual mind of their Author, as he is morally exalted above us. Any one who is not profoundly conscious that this makes all the difference in the world, — his insensibility settles the point beyond controversy. "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

"Christ's religion," says Dr. Channing, "is very imperfect without himself; and therefore they who would make an abstract of his precepts, and say that it is enough to follow these without thinking of their author, grievously mistake, and rob the system of much of its energy. I mean not to disparage the preeepts of Christ, considered in themselves. But their full power is only to be understood and felt by those who place themselves near the Divine Teacher, who see the celestial fervor of his affection whilst he utters them, who follow his steps from Bethlehem to Calvary, and witness the expression of his precepts in his own life. These come to me almost as new precepts when I associate them with Jesus. His command to love my enemies, becomes intelligible and bright when I stand by his cross and hear his prayer for his murderers. I understand what he meant by the self-denial which he taught, when I see him foregoing the comforts of life, and laying down life itself for the good of others. I learn the true character of that benevolence by which human nature is perfected, how it unites calmness and earnestness, tenderness and courage, condescension and dignity, feeling and action; this I learn in the life of Jesus as no words could teach me. So I am instructed in the nature of piety by the same model. The command to love God with all my heart, if only written, might

have led me into extravagance, enthusiasm, and neglect of common duties; for religious excitement has a peculiar tendency to excess; but in Jesus I see a devotion to God, entire, perfect, never remitted, yet without the least appearance of passion, as calm and self-possessed as the love which a good mind bears to a parent; and in him I am taught, as words could not teach, how to join supreme regard to my Creator, with active charity and common duties towards my fellow beings." * Beautiful as this passage is, and gladly as I avail myself of it in illustration of my views, still, unless I unduly magnify my doctrine, I should be disposed to go still further, and speak with much less qualification. I believe that "they who make an abstract of the precepts of Jesus," and deem it sufficient, "rob the system," not only "of much," but of its principal, nearly all its peculiar "energy," and that the precepts of Christianity, as expressed in the life of its Founder, become both "almost" and altogether new precepts, that is, so far as any moral precept can be said to be new. Take the very first duty specified in the foregoing quotation, the love of our enemies. Who would ever have dreamed of giving to the precept which enjoins this duty, the large and sublime interpretation which it has received from the prayer of Jesus on the cross? Or again, the command to love God with all one's mind and heart and strength, — if we had it only in a written form, would it not be almost unintelligible? Has it not in all ages been most mournfully misunderstood? Has not the love of God been regarded and cherished as if it were a mystical and fiery frenzy, consuming all the kindly affections of the heart, all the noble powers of the mind? Only as it is taught in the character of Jesus, can this, the highest principle of religion, be seen in its divine beauty and perfect truth. To understand Christianity, in any worthy sense of the phrase, we must not only "place ourselves near the Divine Teacher," we must enter into his spirit, we must be, in a sense hardly to be called figurative, *in Christ*, and thence, as from a high central point, we shall be able to survey the religion of Christ in all the grandeur and extent of its spiritual meaning. Language is, as I have said, essentially imperfect and ambiguous. The letter, though a sign, is still only a sign,

* Discourses by W. E. Channing, p. 265.

an artificial, lifeless, finite sign of the living and infinite things of the spirit. Jesus Christ is himself, in the various particulars of his life, in the manifestations of his character, the living illustration, the only unambiguous record of moral truth. His deeds of power and love, his meek and silent sufferings, — these are the true and inspired Scriptures, written out by God's own hand, — the divine and adequate symbols of spiritual things. The Apostle Paul says as much, and he says it too with an evident sense of the importance of the doctrine, when he declares, that "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shone into our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

In accordance with these views, I hold it to be one of the brightest tokens of the divine origin of Christianity, that it is taught, not in an inspired Book, but in an inspired Life. From the earliest ages of the church how painfully have men been toiling to express Christianity completely in some cunning form of words, to build up the dead, wooden symbols of language into a fabric, wherein the everliving spirit of truth might be enshrined, and from which it might look forth with the assurance of being recognised at once by all eyes! Of the results of this attempt, let the creeds and confessions of faith which have been set up in almost every corner of Christendom, only to tumble down and mock their builders, bear witness. How do the ways of God transcend the ways of man! How are his thoughts higher than ours! When He became the teacher of the world, it was not by means of a heaven-descended volume, not writ with hands. He manifested his will in the flesh. He revealed living truth in a living being. He raised up his holy child Jesus, made in all points as we are, that he might be intelligible to us; who became in his life, spent in the exercise of every virtue, a living moral revelation, the Voice, the Scripture, the Word of God. Jesus Christ taught, it is true, by his lips as well as by his life. He employed language as an instrument of instruction. But then he taught not as the scribes and philosophers. He used no wisdom of words, no abstract terms, no affected phraseology. His eloquence was great, but it was not rhetorical. His instructions consisted principally in the exhibition of moral facts and instances in the simplest language. What he said was in a manner

identified either with what he was doing, or with some present fact in nature, some passing occurrence in providence, which gave it its signification. And he left no record. He committed nothing to writing, having written out a clear and full exposition of truth in the unequivocal characters of his life upon the imperishable tables of the human heart.

If now, as I have urged, Christianity is to be understood only through an accurate acquaintaince with the whole moral being of its author, and only as we know him can we know his religion, the importance of a thorough knowledge of the New Testament facts becomes manifest. It is from what is related of Jesus Christ, that we are to learn what he was. We have no labored portraiture of his character. Nothing like an attempt at a description of him has come down to us, if any such attempt were ever made. The historians of his life were all too simple, too scantily provided with the wisdom of words, too unused to writing, to accomplish a task so seldom discharged with any thing approaching to success. Nothing is more difficult than to express in a general description an accurate idea of an individual character. A proof in point, familiar enough, may be seen in the obituary notices found amidst the daily records of human affairs. How grievously do they lack individuality, and with what slight alterations may they be made as applicable to one person as to another. But even if the authors of the Gospels had the ability to describe their Master in general terms, I am not at all sorry, that they never evinced the least disposition to attempt any thing of the kind. I never regret, that there was no accomplished and ready scribe among them to pronounce a funeral oration at the grave of Jesus. For I deem one little incident, like the many which they have recorded in simple language, more valuable than the most eloquent and elaborate eulogy. It gives me a deeper insight into his character. It affords me perhaps only a glimpse, but still a real, face-to-face glimpse of his moral being. It places him before me in the significant attitude of life and action.

Indeed there is nothing in the whole structure of the Gospel narratives, which carries to my mind so deep a feeling of truth, as the manner in which they exhibit their great subject, Jesus Christ. As I have observed, there is not a

trace of description or panegyric, no anxious analysis of his character. One would have supposed beforehand, that, in order to convey to the human mind a distinct idea of such a personage as the founder of Christianity, all the resources of language would have been put in requisition, terms the most accurate and minute would have been used. But what is the fact? In the New Testament, Jesus Christ appears before us continually acting, speaking, or suffering. A great variety of events is recorded, in the midst of which he is placed, and of which he is a part. He does not occupy the scene alone. He is thrown into the midst of multitudes heaving to and fro under the influence of the most exciting emotions. In what his historians tell us concerning him, there is a striking absence of all anxiety about effect. They seem never to care, hardly to know, whether the facts they state will make for their Master or against him. They relate some things which do at first sight appear to be inconsistent with his character. In fine, the narratives of his life are simple collections of facts, put together with no great regard to order, and betraying no desire to secure the appearance of truth. Now, if from records of this description we can form a distinct and consistent idea of him of whom they speak; if, after candid and thorough examination, we find that his individuality is never infringed; that he is never confounded in our minds with any of the other persons mentioned; that he is never represented as acting or speaking, except in perfect, although not always obvious harmony with himself, — in short, if these brief and unlabored sketches, these minute and scattered fragments, when collected and fitted together, form one peerless moral whole, what mind of the least ingenuousness can resist the overpowering conviction of reality which they must produce? *

* Similar remarks may be made in reference to the other and inferior persons, who compose the group which the New Testament places before us. We know who and what they are from no formal descriptions, from no explanations of their peculiarities, but simply from what they say and do, as circumstances occur. They appear and disappear suddenly. And yet they always speak and act in character. They are never intermixed. Each acts himself and not another. The colors in the New Testament picture never run into one another, nor are they kept distinct by labored and anxious outlines. Consider, for instances, Peter, Judas, Pilate, and particularly Mary and Martha. I really pity him who, insensible to these profound

To return. The character of Christ, which is the interpretation of Christianity, being expressed and bodied forth in the facts narrated in the four Gospels, upon the clearness of our apprehension of those facts depends our knowledge of Christ, and consequently of the true import of his religion. Cherishing these views, I have no sympathy with those who are willing that any portions of the history of Jesus should be wrapt in doubt and obscurity, which we have not done our utmost to remove. As the direction of the mighty currents of the atmosphere and ocean is indicated by the lightest substances, so the tendencies of individual character are revealed by incidents apparently unimportant. The slightest circumstance mentioned concerning Christ may be an opening, through which he, who hath an eye to see, may look far into the spirit-stirring nature of him, in whom the countenance of Divine Truth is imaged as in a mirror. "Jesus wept." What large and interesting views of the character of Christ open upon us through this little incident, thus briefly told! I do not undertake to deny, that there are passages which, after the most acute and thorough investigation, will remain obscure. But I would have it felt, that our knowledge of Christianity is thorough only according to the distinctness of our conceptions of Jesus Christ. I would have the narratives of the life of Jesus searched as for hidden and priceless treasure. This, although compassed about with so great a cloud of commentators, I do not hesitate to believe, has not yet been done, partly because the real importance of the study has not been recognised, and partly because those rules of interpretation, to which the Gospel histories, like all other books, must be submitted, have not been fearlessly and faithfully applied.

Considered in their relation to the character of Christ, the miracles ascribed to him assume a new meaning, and rise into the highest importance. They become grand moral manifestations, facts not more remarkable, — to my mind, I confess, not so remarkable, — for their supernatural power, as for the moral energy which they illustrate. It is common to represent the miracles of Christ barely as physical wonders, in the light of evidences to his divine mission and authority, and to speak of them as if they were necessary

moral harmonies, finds his faith clogged by verbal difficulties or the discrepancies of dates.

only to those among whom Jesus appeared and taught, and could have no use nor importance now. But it is obviously impossible to separate the miracles of Christ from the character of Christ. They either were or were not miracles. They either were or were not his acts. And upon the manner in which we view them depends most materially our conception of his character. They, if any such there be, who suppose that Jesus Christ professed to work miracles when he knew that he could not work them, or that he only fancied that he wrought them, must regard him as a deliberate deceiver or a delirious enthusiast. And then must it be explained, if it can be without confounding all moral distinctions and sweeping away all the grounds of human faith, how from a corrupt or a heated mind could have sprung such a moral and religious system as may be gathered from the precepts merely of Christ, a religion confessedly the best the world has ever seen. It may be supposed, somewhat more plausibly, that Jesus Christ neither wrought miracles nor professed to work them, but that they have been ascribed to him by the passion for the marvellous, and the blind veneration of his followers. If they are the mere fictions of the love of the wonderful, they are the homeliest marvels, *miracles*, etymologically speaking, that ever came from that source.* But not to wander from the point to which I would bring these remarks, the supposition, just mentioned, does indeed protect the author of Christianity from the charge of fraud or enthusiasm. But then it is at a high price. It strips his character of its peculiar excellence. It may leave him a great man, but how is his greatness shorn of its splendor! How is the moral revelation in him robbed of the brightness of its glory! If we take the miracles ascribed to Christ as actual miracles, — if we see that they harmonize perfectly with his moral character, both in their spirit and in their form, that is, that their purpose agrees with his benevolence, and the manner in which they were wrought with that simple, unostentatious

* Rammohun Roy, in his preface to "The Precepts of Jesus," states it as a reason of the omission of "miraculous relations" in that compilation, that the Christian miracles "are *much less wonderful* than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at best to carry little weight with them." A striking tribute to their Christian simplicity!

dignity, which is one of his most original traits, how immeasurably does our conception of his moral exaltation excel the most elevated ideas that can be formed of him upon any other supposition! How does his whole moral being dilate into the grandest, but into no unnatural nor ill-adjusted proportions! A depth, a richness, a power is given to his virtues, when we contemplate them as the virtues of one, exposed to that hardest of all trials, the possession of the most extraordinary gifts, — which they have under no other view. And they lose not the least particle of naturalness. Do not our very hearts melt, when we think of the patience with which he bore with the ignorance and prejudice and perversity of men, — of the love with which he clung to our poor nature, refusing his affectionate offices and struggling against his friendly embrace, and then consider how he was possessed of powers which raised him above all mankind, and of which, if he had been in the least disposed to be proud, he would have looked down upon the world with utter contempt. When men have exclusive possession of any little gift, when they ascend to some little eminence above their fellows, how proudly do they bear themselves, forgetting all around them, and lifting up their heads as if they were among the stars! But Jesus Christ, possessing the greatest gifts, such as had never before been accorded to man, condescended, with a sympathy which nothing could exhaust, and a generosity which no ingratitude could weary, to use his great powers, never for himself, but wholly for others, to be the friend and servant of our race, to live and labor and die for us. Never is he betrayed into a word or look indicative of a selfish, offensive feeling of superiority, although a true consciousness of his great dignity is not wanting.* Those precious tears at the grave of Lazarus, — they fell from eyes illuminated by the unearthly light of Prophecy! Those words of love were uttered by a voice which could still the tempest and evoke the dead! That

* All antiquity might be challenged to bring a parallel in moral sublimity to the answer of Jesus to the Roman Governor, John xviii. 37. The effect of the passage is obscure in the translation. "Art thou a king then?" says Pilate to the lowly Nazarene. "Yea," he replies, "I am a king. For this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world, to bear witness to the truth, and every true man is my subject." "To hear is to obey," is an Eastern phrase.

hand laid in blessing upon a child, — at its touch of power, disease and death vanished! But language fails me in the attempt to describe the energy, the divine life, which appears in the character of Jesus, when he is contemplated as endowed with supernatural gifts. I must leave this topic to the feelings of my readers.

When looking at the miracles of Christ in connexion with his character, a powerful internal evidence of their reality reveals itself to us. What but truth could produce that perfect harmony, which we find existing between the moral character of Christ and the miracles attributed to him? Let any one compare the miracles of the New Testament with those related in the apocryphal gospels, and it will be apparent at a glance how hard, nay, how impossible it was, even with such patterns as the received Gospels furnish, to fabricate supernatural works, that would not at once betray their origin by their utter and palpable inconsistency with the whole character and spirit of Christ. The apocryphal miracles are wholly childish. They not only most grievously mar the original and unrivalled dignity of our Saviour, they are entirely foreign to the wisdom, tenderness, and forgetfulness of self, by which his words and actions on all other occasions were marked. The extraordinary works attributed to the great Teacher in the New Testament are directly the reverse of these. They are not a mere parade of power. They have nothing of the vindictive or the terrific. They fully accord with the beneficent spirit of Jesus. And, what is in the highest degree striking, so far from weakening the effect or obscuring the singular beauty of his character, they heighten its effect and illustrate its greatness and simplicity. Strike out of the history of Christ the accounts of the miracles, and some of the most expressive illustrations of his lofty moral qualities are lost at once. The grand moral idea is gone for ever. I can scarcely forbear exemplifying what I say, by particular reference to one or two instances. But my time and limits will not permit. I beg the attention of the reader to the account of the cure of a man with a withered hand in the synagogue on a sabbath. This incident gives us a new sense of the dignified manner of Jesus, and of the pointed and searching power of his address. It is in such admirable keeping with all that is elsewhere told of him, that if it were wanting in the history, we should be

destitute of a most luminous illustration of his character. The history of the raising of Lazarus may be referred to, as another striking example in point. Suppose that God had left some work of nature in an unfinished state, and man were challenged to complete it, I could as easily believe that his feeble and ignorant understanding could carry out and finish the designs of God's perfect intelligence, so that no difference could be discerned between the divine workmanship and the human, as that the wit of man, quickened to the uttermost, could fabricate miracles like those of the New Testament in such wonderful harmony with the rest of the character of Jesus, — could represent him as speaking and acting in an imaginary case, and upon an occasion so peculiar and difficult as that of performing a miracle (analogy affording no light) in perfect accordance with all his real words and actions and the whole tone of his life. It is impossible. Truth is a divine work, and that man should add his fictions thereto, and yet the difference not be clearly perceptible, cannot be. The force of this remark is peculiarly great in the case of the miracles ascribed to the author of Christianity. Because these miracles, if they were not real, could have had their origin only in the strong craving for the marvellous. Tell me not, that so low and ignorant and coarse a principle of human nature has originated fictions corresponding perfectly with the reality of things, with a work so beautiful and so unequalled as the character of Jesus Christ.

Thus, in the correspondence of the miracles with the character of Christ, we have a strong ground of faith in their reality. When they fit into his life so exactly, never disturbing its consistency nor distorting its proportions, but giving it a high finish, of which it would otherwise be destitute, they cannot be accounted for but on the supposition of their reality. It is related, as our readers will recollect, of a celebrated artist, when at the commencement of his career little regard was paid to the productions of his chisel, on account of the exclusive admiration, then fashionable, of the exquisite models of ancient art, that, having secretly executed a beautiful statue, he broke off one of the limbs which he kept, while with the same secrecy he caused the statue to be buried where it would soon be dug up, and so appear to be a newly discovered relic of antiquity. The experi-

ment was successful. The mutilated statue was exposed to the light. When loud and universal applause had been lavished on this specimen of art, which it was never dreamed that modern genius could equal, the real author of it produced the arm which he had retained. By the corresponding beauty of its workmanship, and by supplying the place of the part that was wanting, giving grace to the whole, it proved beyond doubt that both parts of the statue were fashioned by one and the same hand. So the intrinsic beauty of the miracles of Jesus, and their agreement with his character, place them above the possibility of being forgeries. The evidence, thus produced for their truth, is far more impressive, than that which was given in the case of the celebrated statuary to whom I have just alluded. The statue was after all a human work, and what one man had made, another might by accident possibly equal. But the character of Christ is the beautiful work of a Divine Artist, and no skill less than that which produced it, certainly not the skill of man, and least of all of such men as the authors of the Gospels appear to have been, could fabricate miracles in such exact accordance with the life of Jesus.

At the hazard of being charged with repeated digressions, I have been desirous of showing how the views I have endeavoured to unfold are connected with some of the most impressive evidences of Christianity. A strong light flashes from them upon the deep foundations of that Faith, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. It is here, I am persuaded, in the very nature of Christianity, in its whole spirit and form as it is exhibited in the New Testament, in the person of its author, that the great argument for its truth lies, not yet disclosed in all the grandeur of its dimensions.

There is one inference from what has been said, that I cannot omit. The character of Christ becomes a test, to be used with the greatest caution, whereby we may be assisted in determining the truth of the miracles ascribed to him. It certainly is not impossible, that the authors of the Gospels may in some instances have represented ordinary events as miraculous. I am not prepared to say with confidence, that they have done this in any one instance, although I confess Kuinoel's explanation of the Transfiguration strikes me as extremely plausible in some respects, but not in all. Still there may be events conceived of and de-

scribed by the Evangelists as miracles, which were not miracles in reality. Whether this be the case to any extent, I do not by any means consider as a merely speculative question. It is an inquiry of great interest. A true miracle, being the work of God, we may reasonably suppose, must be immeasurably superior to one which is only imaginary. And besides we have seen, if the foregoing remarks are correct, that the generality of the supernatural works, attributed in the New Testament to Jesus Christ, are of a most peculiar and marked character. They differ strikingly from all other miracles, and in this difference we discover an evidence of their truth. Now for the sake of the true miracles, that they may be seen and appreciated as they are, they should be entirely separated from all events supernatural only in appearance and by misconception. The facts of the New Testament, when seen exactly as they are, will, I have insisted, in a great degree prove themselves. But, in order to be seen, they must be cleansed from every admixture of error, no matter how small.

A great deal remains to be said, but I have neither the time nor the ability to say it worthily, respecting the method by which the precise facts of the life of Jesus are to be reached. It is the gross and lamentable mistakes, which have prevailed, and do yet prevail, concerning the character of the Scriptures, that have given birth and importance to the science of Scriptural interpretation. Its principles, for the most part, consist of certain simple rules, which every man who reads, listens, and speaks, is continually, though unconsciously, applying. What, for instance, can be plainer and of more constant application, than that universal terms and propositions are to be limited by the subject in hand, and that the language of emotion is always general, loose, and hyperbolical? And yet these are two of the most important rules to be observed in the interpretation of the Scriptures. If they were faithfully applied, some of the greatest corruptions of Christianity would lose their chief props and tumble into ruins. The principle difficulty of their application is to be traced to those erroneous views of the Scriptures which have prevailed for ages, and from which it is scarcely possible for any mind, however strong its tendencies to freedom, to be at once and completely emancipated.

It is now generally understood among Rational Christians, that the four Gospels are human compositions, the productions of honest and intelligent men, who needed no extraordinary assistance in recording the simple facts of which they were the witnesses. The ground upon which we believe them is not to be found in any miraculous aid which they received in writing their brief and artless histories, but in the circumstance to which our Saviour himself refers, as constituting them competent witnesses of his life, namely, that they had been with him from the beginning.* If we adopt this view of the Christian records, are we not solemnly bound, in interpreting them, to consider the influence of the known prejudices of the writers, and to take into account every circumstance which might possibly so affect their minds as to render their narratives, without the least intention on their part of deviating from the truth, in some instances, not merely an inadequate, but a mistaken representation of the facts they record? I have no idea that, in any vital fact related, any influence of this kind is discoverable. But whether this be suspected or not, can make no difference with a conscientious and fearless interpreter. The exact state of the case is what we wish to arrive at; and we must take carefully into view the characters of the witnesses for honesty, for intelligence, and for mental cultivation. For an example of the faithful discharge of this duty I refer my readers to Mr. Norton's recent work, to which I rejoice in every opportunity of acknowledging my obligations. In one instance, in reference to our Saviour's promise of his coming, Mr. Norton has shown, very satisfactorily as I think, that the immediate disciples of Jesus fell, not indeed into a misrepresentation, but into a misapprehension of his language, which clung to them to the last, through the influence of their Jewish conceptions and prejudices. The idea of the Apostles laboring under a mistake strikes horror into many minds, as if the foundations of Christianity were assailed. But the existence of this error, as Mr. Norton has shown, is a most convincing evidence, that the language of our Saviour concerning the coming of his kingdom, as reported by the Evangelists, must actually have been uttered by

* "And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." John xv. 27.

him, because they never could have forged what they did not understand. Here is evidence for the truth of the Gospel accounts, of the most powerful kind, because "it is evidence which no one intended to furnish." And here too is another instance, — it will not, I suspect, be the last, — of a fact, of which the publication of the various readings by Mill furnishes perhaps the most striking illustration. Then how did Skepticism triumph and Orthodoxy tremble, as if the very key-stone had been removed, and the utter fall of the whole fabric of Christianity was momently to be expected! But the spirit of enlightened criticism came forth and interpreted the fact, which Mill's publication had disclosed; and the consequence was, that Christianity settled down only the more immovably on its everlasting foundations. The difficulties, which Infidelity has hurled at Truth, have been seized and transformed into the weapons of her defence. Some of the most powerful evidences of Christianity have been found hidden under the objections which have been raised against it, and which have proved stumbling-blocks only to blind, uninquiring Faith.

In ascertaining the precise facts of our Saviour's life by the process now briefly alluded to, I deem it very probable that some things in the history, usually received by Christians as supernatural, may cease to appear so. But I have no fear that any vital truth will be impaired. Let truth be seen in its own simplicity, separated from every particle of error, and it will be all the brighter and more powerful for the separation. Besides, the error will prove the truth; because if misapprehensions are found to exist in the history, it is undeniable that its authors could not have misapprehended what did not really take place. The misapprehension is the shadow of the truth. So long as we share in it, we are standing within the shadow, and the truth is obscured to our eyes. But when our minds are delivered from the misapprehension, then we come out into the light, and discern the truth in all its glory; and by the very shadow which it casts, we are enabled to determine that it is not a shadow itself, but a solid substance of grand and divine dimensions.

I have thought the foregoing considerations an appropriate introduction to an account, in some respects new, of

one of the most interesting events in the history of Jesus Christ, his Resurrection. The accounts which the four Evangelists have given of the first appearance of Jesus after his crucifixion vary in a number of particulars. Many methods of reconciling them have been suggested, more ingenious than satisfactory. Whether the mode of explaining this part of our Lord's history, now proposed, be of the same character, the reader must determine. I may be permitted to say, that it has added sensibly to my own faith in the principal fact. It has given me a deeper feeling of the truth of this interesting portion of the Christian Scriptures, partly because it represents this great event as marked by that perfect simplicity which is the distinguishing trait of the New Testament miracles; and partly because it discloses new and undesigned evidence of the reality of the main fact, the resurrection of our Saviour.

It should in the first place be borne distinctly in mind, that it is not, comparatively speaking, of the greatest importance to determine the precise circumstances of the first appearance of Jesus after his execution, provided the main fact, that he did appear again, is fully established. For the truth of this fact we have the most powerful and harmonious testimony. All his disciples, a very short time after his crucifixion, came forward and declared, in the very place where he had suffered, and in the presence of the very people and priests who had destroyed him, that Jesus had appeared again alive, that they had seen him and conversed with him, and that he had appeared to a large number of people, to so many that some among them, unable to get a near view of him, had doubted whether indeed it were he.* In the assertion of this fact, the friends of Jesus exposed themselves to a like fate with his. Obloquy, suffering, and death menaced them. But they persisted at every risk in declaring that their master had appeared to them again alive, not once, but a number of times, not to one or two individuals, but to many. It cannot be imagined that they asserted what they did not believe, that they combined to propagate, not only a most unprofitable, but a most dangerous falsehood, and that while engaged in this work of decep-

* That Matthew has recorded such a doubt should never be forgotten, as an irresistible evidence of his honesty as a narrator.

tion they breathed the purest sentiments, and taught the wisest morality. If we cannot believe them honest, the grounds of all human confidence are destroyed for ever. No candid and intelligent man will cherish such a suspicion of the followers of Jesus. That they were themselves deceived is a conjecture a little more plausible, but not a whit less groundless, as, I trust, will in part appear. I am aware that the best of men are liable to delusion. Our senses deceive us sometimes. But then there are circumstances under which delusion is impossible. And such, I apprehend, will the principal circumstances be found, under which the reappearance of Jesus, after his death, occurred. Had he appeared only once or twice, for a brief moment, and then vanished; had he appeared to only one or two of the disciples, we might suspect an illusion. But this was not the case. The history informs us, let it be remembered, that Jesus was seen a number of times by a number of persons, with whom he ate and conversed. He was seen, says one of the primitive Apostles, by five hundred brethren at once, many of whom were still living when this Apostle wrote. Now, as the disciples were too honest to state falsehoods, so also were the facts they relate too plain and palpable, too inconsistent with mistake, to allow us to suppose any material error in the case. Besides, the moral identity of Jesus is perfectly preserved. It is the same individual who appears after the crucifixion, of whom we read in the previous portion of the history. For this striking circumstance nothing but the reality of our Saviour's resurrection will account.

Another important preliminary remark is, that the differences, manifest in the accounts which have come down to us of the resurrection of Jesus, are precisely what were to have been expected. These differences, to a superficial reader, seem to destroy all the credit of the narrators; and they have been referred to again and again as sufficient grounds for withholding belief in the main fact. Not to mention the existence of similar discrepancies in the best histories, let the variations in the Gospel narratives be candidly and thoroughly weighed, and of nothing am I more confident, than that they will be found, not only consistent with truth, but illustrative of it and indispensable to it. Suppose Jesus to have reappeared alive, the differences in

the accounts of his first appearance are, we repeat, just what we ought to have expected. The disciples of Jesus had no idea of his resurrection. In the one heart-rending fact of his death, his miserable, ignominious death, all memory of what he had said to them was lost. His female friends thought only of embalming his remains, and seeing him decently interred. And his companions mourned over the utter disappointment of those hopes, which had fixed strongly upon him, as the expected prince who was to bestow upon them wealth and power. The reappearance of one, whose death had been a matter of public notoriety, would, under any circumstances, produce in the spectators an excitement of mind wholly inconsistent with calm and correct observation. But in the present instance, the feelings of the individuals concerned were so deeply interested, — some, if not all, having witnessed the expiring agonies of Jesus on the cross, — that it is impossible a state of mind should not have been produced, at the first intimation of an occurrence so stupendous as his restoration to life, in which no one of the persons interested could have been able to record the precise order of events. The very disturbance in the narratives shows plainly, that something out of the way must have happened. Otherwise they would have given us a more exact account. Indeed it would not be surprising if it were impossible now to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, the circumstances which attended the first appearance of Jesus after his crucifixion. There must have been such a hurry, such an agitation of conflicting feelings, that we should at first sight consider the prospect of getting at the exact truth almost hopeless. But as it is, the details of our Saviour's first appearance after his death are not in inextricable confusion. It is possible, I conceive, to arrive at a very natural, consistent, and probable apprehension of the manner in which it occurred.

Once more. The resurrection of Jesus Christ is almost universally represented as having taken place principally for the sake of proving the doctrine of immortality. That this was one of its chief objects, or rather its consequences, I am not at all disposed to deny. Without undertaking now to determine its relation to our highest hopes, I would simply observe, that there is one point of view in which the resurrection of the Founder of Christianity was of the greatest

moment. I do not see how his religion could ever have been established in the world, if Jesus Christ had not appeared again. If there is a single plain fact in the New Testament, it is that, when Jesus expired on the cross, there was not a human being who had entered into his spirit and understood his purpose, — not one of his immediate friends to whom his life was not an inexplicable enigma, a deceitful dream, — not one at all qualified to take up and carry on the great spiritual work which he had commenced. He had not committed a single word to writing; and his personal followers seem to have been as ignorant of his magnificent design as little children. And had it not been for the impression made upon their minds by his resurrection, there is every reason to conclude, that they would soon have returned to their several employments, and his religion would have been buried with him in his grave. The enlightening moral influence of such a fact as his resurrection was needed to open the eyes of his followers, and to make them bow more implicitly than ever to the authority of their Master, and feel that their hopes might be fulfilled, though in a way of which they had never dreamed. This great fact was taught as no words had been able to teach. It was the grand, crowning proof of the authority of Jesus. And so, in a way the most emphatic and characteristic, did he represent it upon three several occasions, when the Pharisees demanded by what right he acted, and sought from him a sign.*

That the reader may be assisted to understand the following explanation, those portions of the four Gospels which relate to the subject, are here inserted.

Matthew xxviii. 1 – 11. "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning and his raiment white as snow: And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye;

* See Matthew xii. 38 – 40, John ii. 18 – 22, John vi. 30. The demand for a sign upon each of these occasions leads our Saviour to allude more or less distinctly to his death and resurrection.

for I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified. He is not here; for he is risen as he said. Come see the place where the Lord lay. And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you. And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy; and did run and bring his disciples word. And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet and worshipped him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid: go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me. Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city and showed unto the chief priests all the things that were done."

Mark xvi. 1 – 8. "And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him. And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun. And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away: for it was very great. And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side clothed in a long white garment, and they were affrighted. And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted. Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him. But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him as he said unto you. And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: neither said they any thing to any man; for they were afraid."

Luke xxiv. 1 – 12. "Now upon the first day of the week very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them. And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre. And they entered in and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold two men stood by them in shining garments: And as they were afraid and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen; remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. And they re-

membered his words, and returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven and the rest. It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things to the Apostles. And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not. Then arose Peter and ran unto the sepulchre, and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass."

John xx. 1 – 18. "The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre. Then she runneth and cometh to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him. Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre. And he, stooping down, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie; and the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Then went in also that other disciple which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw and believed. For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home. But Mary stood without at the sepulchre, weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down *and looked* into the sepulchre, and seeth two angels in white, sitting the one at the head, and the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain. And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father; and to my God and your God. Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her."

Jesus was crucified on a Friday, the day before the Jewish Sabbath. His disciples evidently regarded his death as the utter ruin of those high hopes he had inspired. If it be doubted whether he actually predicted his own death and resurrection, then it must be admitted that his disciples had no expectation of these events. Or, if we credit the history when it informs us that Jesus told his followers, that he was to be crucified, and that he would rise again on the third day, then also the reason is manifest why the prediction made no impression on their minds and retained no place in their memories. They believed their master to be the Messiah, that magnificent Prince. The idea of his dying the death of a common malefactor, was of all things the most shocking to their minds. They must have rejected it with an instinctive horror. A great deal of what he said, sounded very enigmatical on account of their strong prejudices. And it is highly probable that when he spake of his death, they supposed that he was speaking figuratively, and that the most obvious meaning of his words was not their true meaning.* That they had no idea of what was to happen, appears from the circumstance, that only a few hours before he was seized by his enemies, while he was observing the Passover with them, they disputed which should take precedence in that temporal kingdom, whose establishment they momently expected. When at last he was hung upon the cross, when he had expired there, they were overwhelmed by the terrible and inexplicable fact. They cared not to recur to his words for comfort and light; for they felt that all was over. The hopes he had awakened were blasted for ever.

* It is worthy of note that our Saviour's predictions of his death and resurrection appear always to have been uttered upon those occasions when the earthly hopes of his disciples must have been most strongly excited. See Matth. xvi. 21. Mark x. 32. and Luke ix. 43. The passage in Luke is particularly remarkable, "And they were all amazed at the mighty power of God. But while they wondered every one at all things which Jesus did, he said unto his disciples, Let these sayings sink down into your ears, for the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men. But they understood not this saying, and it was hid from them, that they perceived it not: and they feared to ask him of that saying." How mysterious and inexplicable must this language have appeared to those who were confidently expecting Jesus to assume the state and authority of an earthly Prince, and never more confidently than after he had wrought some mighty work!

The body of Jesus was taken from the cross at sunset on Friday, and laid in a tomb in a garden near the place of execution. The near approach of the Sabbath caused his burial to be brief and hurried. The Jewish Priests and elders, holding him to be an impostor, and therefore not having the same difficulty in understanding his predictions which his disciples had, recollected that he had said he would rise again from the dead on the third day. They caught eagerly at his prophecy in its literal sense, and trusted to disprove it. Accordingly they procured a guard of soldiers to be stationed at the place where the body of Jesus was laid, and thus they expected by the event to destroy his credit for ever.

Let us now observe what took place. Towards morning while "it was yet dark," on the third day after the crucifixion of Jesus, the day corresponding to our Sunday, the stone which was placed at the entrance of the sepulchre, and which was so large that the four or five women, who had seen the stone at the time Jesus was buried, were unable to move it, was, as I suppose, suddenly moved from its place by an unseen power, by invisible and unknown means, and Jesus, raised from the dead by the direct agency of God, and clad in the long white habiliments of the grave, came forth and leaned or sate upon the stone. The motion of the stone may probably have jarred the earth. The soldiers who were keeping guard at the place, terrified at these unexpected circumstances and by the figure in white which presented itself before them, and which, the day not yet having dawned, was but dimly discernible, fled in haste and affright to the city, and in the exaggeration of their terror reported that an angel had descended "with eyes like lightning and *raiment white as snow*,"— that the earth shook, and this supernatural messenger had moved the stone from the mouth of the tomb and sat upon it. The extraordinary circumstances of the life of Jesus could not have been wholly unknown to the soldiers, who, notwithstanding their violent and daring profession, were no doubt, as such men frequently are, very susceptible of superstitious fears, and likely to be panic-struck by any unforeseen and peculiar occurrence. Thus, it may be seen how naturally the account, which Matthew gives, of the descent of an angel with "a countenance like lightning and raiment white as snow" may have arisen. A compar-

ison of Matthew's account with the other narratives shows us at once, that this story of the angel must have been derived from the soldiers. Keeping in view what sort of men they were, the state of their minds, the exaggerating nature of fear, and the time, before the break of day, the candid reader, I am persuaded, will not deem this explanation unnatural or violent. But let us see whether subsequent occurrences do not corrob orate it.

Immediately after the departure of the soldiers, some women, the relatives and friends of Jesus, approached the sepulchre. They brought spices with them to embalm the body. They came before the dawn of day, partly perhaps to avoid observation, and partly that no time might be lost in the performance of the sacred offices of humanity and friendship. As they drew near the spot, questioning among themselves, whom they should procure to roll away the stone from the entrance of the tomb, they observed that it was already rolled away. Taking alarm at this circumstance, and instantly and naturally surmising, after having so recently witnessed the relentless hatred of his enemies, that the body of Jesus must have been removed from the place where his friends had laid it, and without waiting to ascertain the correctness of the suspicion, one of the women, Mary Magdalene, rushed back to the city to inform the disciples. The Evangelist John who alone relates the circumstance of Mary's immediate return to the city, does not mention that any other women accompanied her to the tomb. Still, in the most incidental manner, it appears even from his narrative, taken by itself, that there were others present. He tells us that upon her arrival in the city, Mary said to Peter and John, "They have taken away the Master out of the sepulchre , and *we* know not where they have laid him."

After Mary had left the place, the other women, who stood at the mouth of the sepulchre, full of surprise and wondering what the removal of the stone could mean, were suddenly accosted by what appeared to them, as Mark tells us, "*a young man in a long white garment*," * or, as Luke says, "by two men in *shining garments*," or, according to Matthew, by the angel, "with raiment *white as snow*," that rolled away the

* Mark mentions no angels upon this occasion.

stone. This person I suppose to have been Jesus himself, just restored to life, and still arrayed in the long white linen, in which his body was wrapt when it was taken from the cross. The cloth that was folded over his face and head, and which was perhaps much larger than the word "napkin" would give us to understand, he probably threw off when life returned, and now it lay near the place where his head had rested. In the dimness of the light, the long white garments of this unknown person were the most prominent objects. Accordingly we find that they are mentioned by all the Evangelists. How naturally might that part of the grave-clothes which Jesus had put off from his head, lying by itself, have appeared to the excited imaginations of the women as another person. They found themselves suddenly addressed by a person in white, and the proximity of another white object may have led them, in the agitation of their minds, to conclude that there were two persons present in white. That the stranger who spoke to them knew them, and knew the object which brought them to the place, as naturally created in their minds the belief, that they were in the presence of supernatural beings.

Before Jesus addressed them, he may have discovered from the tones of their voices and from their exclamations of surprise, or in some other way, that they were his friends. Possibly the noise of their approach had caused him to retire within the tomb from which he had just before issued to the terror of the soldiers. With that perfect consideration which marked his conduct at all times, even in moments of the greatest excitement, he does not attempt to make himself known at a time when the dimness of the light rendered it at least doubtful whether they would recognise him, when their coming to the spot proved that they had no idea of seeing him alive again, and when the sudden disclosure would only increase their agitation, already very great. He speaks of himself in the third person, and seeks to allay their alarm. "Be not afraid, ye seek Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified. He is risen, he is not here: * behold the place where

* It may be objected, that, if it had been our Saviour speaking, he could not have said with truth, "He is not here." The meaning of these words evidently is the dead body is not here, here in the tomb, as you expect to find it. But it is not necessary to suppose, that the precise words are reported.

they laid him," that is, See, the tomb is empty. "But go your way. Tell his disciples and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him as he said unto you." These words are differently reported by the three Evangelists. The agitation of the women, which was very great, accounts for the variation. The introduction of the name of Peter is touchingly characteristic of Jesus, and to our minds betrays the speaker as none other than our Saviour himself. Peter had basely denied all knowledge of his Master, and well might he doubt, when he should hear that Jesus had risen, whether he would be forgiven an act, which he could bring himself to forgive only at the price of a long and bitter repentance. Well might he fear, that those eyes would be coldly averted from him, the awful calmness of whose glance, the last time they were turned upon him, had sent into his soul the sharpest agony of remorse. But this most generous friend hastens to assure his unhappy disciple, that the past was forgotten. The women, having received this message, and believing that an angel had spoken to them, returned with great haste to the city. "They trembled," says the history, "and were amazed, neither said they any thing to any one; for they were afraid."

After their departure, Peter and John, to whom Mary Magdalene had carried the intelligence of the removal of the stone, arrived at the sepulchre. Before they reached the spot, Jesus, having found near the tomb some garments belonging, it has been conjectured, to the gardener,* put off the linen clothes in which his body had been wrapt, throwing off, as was natural, and as we have already said, the cloth which was about his head, so that it lay near where his head had lain, while the remainder he left at the foot of the place

* If it be considered a question of any interest or importance, we may easily conjecture how the gardener's clothes may have been left in or near the tomb. When the body of Jesus was placed in the sepulchre, Joseph of Arimathea would undoubtedly have required the assistance of his servants,—of the keeper of his garden especially, in lifting the body or in moving the great stone which closed the mouth of the tomb. Engaged in this work, the gardener may have thrown aside his principal garments, and in the haste of the occasion forgotten to resume them. Possibly he may have regarded his clothes as unclean, having come in contact with a dead body, and therefore have left them behind. The Sabbath was close at hand, and it was the season of the Passover.

where his body had been deposited. The Evangelist John informs us that when he reached the spot, which he did before Peter, having outrun Peter, he did not dare to go in. A natural feeling of hesitation came over him, and he waited for Peter, who with characteristic ardor, as soon as he reached the sepulchre, went boldly in. John followed him. They saw no angel. But John mentions with remarkable particularity how they found the grave-clothes,—"the cloth that was about the head of Jesus, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself." The reason of this minuteness, although not at once apparent, is very natural, and strikes my mind with great force. The minds of these two disciples were fully occupied with the suspicion suggested by Mary, namely that the body of Jesus had been removed. Full of this idea, they were greatly surprised at seeing the grave-clothes; and it perplexed them to understand why, if the body had been taken away, the grave-clothes had not been taken also. It may be thought strange, that the recollection of their Master's predictions did not at this moment flash upon them, and lead them to suspect that he was alive. In my view, in the entire absence of this suspicion I recognise the unequivocal working of nature. Peter and John were in a state of excitement. Now every one knows, that, when any strong feeling is awakened and we are deeply moved, we are not only incapable of calm and connected thoughts, but we overlook the most obvious conclusions,—the plainest things; and when our emotion subsides, we are accustomed to find nothing so wonderful as our own want of thought and recollection. This was, we conceive, precisely the case with the two disciples. The quick and sudden suspicion of Mary, that the body had been removed, communicated to them with every look and tone of conviction on her part, had full possession of their minds. This suspicion they ran to the tomb to verify or to remove. They did not go to see whether Jesus had risen, but simply to ascertain whether the body was there. Intent upon this one point, in their hurry, when they found that the body was indeed gone, then, as John informs us, they *believed*, not certainly that Jesus had risen, but that what Mary had said was true.

After examining the sepulchre, Peter and John returned home, and left Mary standing near the sepulchre weeping.

"And as she wept, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre, and seeth two angels in white, sitting the one at the head and the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain." It must be borne in mind that the light was yet feeble, that the sepulchre was probably dark in a degree, and that Mary's eyes were dim with tears. We may reasonably suppose that Peter and John, running very swiftly, had reached the tomb before Mary overtook them, and that when they came out they said nothing to her except to intimate that her suspicions were well founded, — that the body was indeed gone. Possibly they uttered not a word. But she may have gathered from their looks and manner that they had found it even as she had said. While she stood weeping at the mouth of the sepulchre, she stooped down and looked in and saw two white objects, one at the foot and the other at the head of the place where Jesus was laid. She must have been startled, as Peter and John had just been, at the sight of the grave-clothes. She could not have expected to see them, since, as she supposed, the body had been taken away. At the moment too that she stooped down a voice addressed her; "Woman why weepest thou?" This question must also have startled her, and increased the confusion of her mind. If she had time to think at all, she probably supposed at the moment that this voice issued from the tomb. She would naturally connect the unexpected sound with the unexpected sight. She answered the question, but immediately turned partly round and saw Jesus standing near her, not knowing that it was he. The sound of his approach probably caused her to turn. He says unto her, "Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou?" Now I think it very probable that the previous question, "Woman, why weepest thou," did not, as Mary supposed, come from the tomb, but was put by Jesus, who, not hearing her reply, repeats the question after Mary had turned towards him. We must not forget the agitated state of her mind. She looked into the sepulchre, and at the moment found herself addressed by a voice which, she imagined, came from the tomb. She turned round when she had replied to it, and Jesus, whose voice it was that had struck her ear, not yet recognised by her and not having heard any reply to his question, repeats the question, adding "Whom seekest thou?" This addition countenances the conjecture that the question, which Mary supposed was put

by angels, was in fact put by Jesus standing behind her. Nothing is more natural and common, when we have addressed an interrogatory to another and received no reply, than to repeat it, varying the form.

If what Mary saw in the sepulchre were really angels, it deserves notice that they served no purpose. They communicated no intelligence. The apparition was evidently but for a moment. But if it were only the linen clothes that Mary saw, that she should have mistaken them for supernatural appearances is by no means strange, when we consider the state of her mind and the report of the other women. Whether at the moment she supposed that there were angels in the tomb, may be doubted. But shortly afterward when she communicated with the other women, and found that they had seen what they believed to be two angels, it was very natural that she should believe that the white objects which she had seen in the sepulchre, and which, together with the unexpected voice, had bewildered her so much, were the "two angels in white."

To the question of Jesus, Mary, supposing him to be the gardener, replies, "Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." The reasons why Mary did not recognise Jesus are manifest. The idea of seeing him alive never entered her mind. She was startled by what she had just seen in the tomb, and by the suddenness with which she had been addressed. She did not turn fully round at first, and therefore had not a full view of his person. He may have been in a manner disguised by his strange clothes. When he perceived that she did not know him he said unto her, "Mary." The tone of that voice thrilled her whole frame. She turned herself and said unto him, "My Master!" How beautiful and touching,—how true to nature and to the character of Jesus, was this mode of making himself known! There is a divine simplicity in this incident, which the heart feels, but the tongue in vain attempts to describe. How vividly does the scene present itself before us! We hear that beloved voice uttering in a subdued tone of tenderness and solemnity the simple name of Mary. We see her countenance and whole frame convulsed by the most powerful emotions of amazement, awe, and delight. At one moment she shrinks with uplifted hands and with eyes starting from their sockets, and the next moment she falls

clasping his knees and uttering the breathless exclamation, "Rabboni." *

When Mary had recognised Jesus, he said unto her, "Touch me not: for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my father and your father, and to my God and your God." These words are obscure. They are best explained by reference to a circumstance mentioned by Matthew. This Evangelist tells us, that Jesus appeared first, as they were returning, to *all* the women who visited the tomb. It is easy to see how such a mistake should have arisen in the hurry and rapidity with which events followed one another. Shortly after the women had come into the city, saying they had seen angels at the sepulchre, who said that Jesus had risen, Mary came in, saying she had seen Jesus herself. Now as, in the first instance, all the women, Mary with the rest, had gone out to the tomb, it is natural that the story of the women should have been blended with that of Mary, and that it should have been understood by some, that all the women had seen Jesus. However this may be, Matthew tells us, that, when the women saw Jesus, they fell down *and held him by his feet.* Now as it was Mary only to whom Jesus appeared, it must have been Mary who held him by his feet. He said unto her therefore, "Detain me not, do not stop now to embrace me, for I do not yet ascend to my Father. You will

* If any curiosity is felt to know why the Evangelist introduces the Hebrew word, when the corresponding word in the language in which he was writing was at hand, it may be satisfactory to consider, that words are often untranslatable less for the want of terms significant of the same essential ideas, in the language into which the translation is made, than from the absence of some strong but indefinable associations, which give to the original a peculiar expressiveness. Hence it is, that poetry so seldom survives translation. The exclamation "Rabboni" was the inspiration of the moment, the symbol by which nature bursting from the heart of Mary, expressed itself. And so this particular sound had to Mary herself, and to those who listened to her story, a power, — a world of expression, which no other articulate sound could convey. See Mark v. 41. vii. 34., where the original is retained in a similar way, and for a similar reason. The retaining of the original in these passages, thus explained, speaks volumes for the reality of the facts recorded. Nothing but the actual utterance of such a phrase as "Talitha cumi" by our Saviour will account for the impression made upon the minds of the narrators, an impression so strong that they felt those simple but powerful words to be absolutely untranslatable.

have other opportunities of seeing me. Go now to my brethren and tell them," &c. When Mary told the disciples she had seen the Master alive, as they were incredulous, they would intimate, that it was an illusion of which she had been the subject, or that she had seen a spectre. She would naturally insist in reply, that she had not only seen him, but that she had *touched* him, — that she had held him by his feet, and knew that it was real flesh and blood. As this act of embracing his feet would be referred to as an evidence of the sense of feeling to the reality of his appearance, it is possible that the exact words addressed to Mary by Jesus may have been altered, and he may have been made to say, "*Touch* me not," when he used a term nearly synonymous but less obscure.

I here close my examination of this interesting portion of the history of our great Teacher, commending it to the candor of the reader.

If it be thought that I have taken unwarrantable liberties with the records, I can only say, that I have been actuated by a single desire to give just weight to all those considerations, to which all sound principles of interpretation, as I am able to understand them, imperatively require us to give heed. In the case of all other writings, we make every allowance for the prejudices and feelings of their authors. Miraculous accounts, especially, we sift with the utmost freedom, and thus do we detect their falsehood. Shall we insult Truth by treating her as if she were willing to owe her credit to our forbearance in scrutinizing her claims? "Christianity disdains to suppress any facts, or to impute bad motives instead of answering plausible objections; it must be proved by something stronger than exclamations, and defended by something less precarious than feeling."

If it be asked why, if the circumstances of our Saviour's resurrection took place as I have stated them, they were not so narrated by the historians, rather than in the form in which they are now presented in the New Testament, — I answer, that I cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of Providence in transmitting to us just such records as we have, records, full of the divine inspiration of nature and upon which the stamp of truth is so distinctly and deeply impressed, records wherein the very misapprehensions prove the truth in a manner the most convincing, because obviously and wholly undesigned. In the case of our Saviour's resurrection, the

error into which the women fell tends directly to establish the grand and only important fact, *the actual presence of Jesus alive on the spot.*

I long to see the Christian histories searched and proved by a single, fearless, and gifted spirit. I will not dishonor Christianity by cherishing the least misgiving as to the result. That some things now retained, would be found untenable in the process, as I have said, I do not doubt. Still my persuasion is deep and strong, that enough would remain, all the more glorious for its purification, to prove the divine authority of the illustrious Author of our religion, as it has never yet been proved, save to his immediate disciples,—enough to animate and comfort and bless the human mind unspeakably and for ever. If there is any instrument whereby the hearts of men,—I say not their understandings, but their hearts, are to be reached, it is Christianity as it lives in the history of its Founder. Let that be exhibited in its own serene light, undimmed by passing through the imperfect and refracting medium of human ignorance and prejudice, and then will the human soul be illuminated and warmed by the knowledge of the glory of God, pouring its ineffable radiance from the face of Jesus Christ!

ART. II. — *A History of Harvard University from its Foundation, in the Year* 1636, *to the Period of the American Revolution.* By the late BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A. M., Librarian of the University. Cambridge. Brown, Shattuck, & Co. 1833. 8vo. pp. 496.

THE history of an ancient University must always be a subject of curiosity and interest. A University is the literary centre, which sends its intellectual light, during successive ages, over a whole country. It is the nucleus around which the learning, the science, the arts of the collective people are gathered to form a bright orb, on which the eyes of all cultivated men are fixed. In its reverend retreats, the happiest years of youth are passed in the noblest pursuits of which the mind is capable. Beneath its shades, those associations are formed, of which the character is never robbed,

and those tastes are cultivated, which give to life more than half its beauty. Amidst the absorbing pursuits of business, in the dazzling path of ambition, in the quiet of philosophical retirement, the man of academic education looks back with filial love towards his Alma Mater, and calls up with ever new delight, the pleasant time which he spent beneath her protecting wing. In her prosperity he rejoices; in her adversity he sympathizes. He is one of a great family, who have gone forth from her instruction, and borne manfully the honorable burdens of life. He is bound to them and to her by a thousand ties, which nothing in after-years can break. He and they may be arrayed with antagonist parties in politics or in religion; they may be rivals in business, struggling hand to hand in the competition for wealth; but, when they meet on the ground sacred to learning, they feel, that they are indeed on common ground, with common tastes, feelings, and hopes. Athens and Lacedæmon are no longer warring nations, but all are Greeks alike, met together to celebrate the festival of peace.

But there are circumstances, that give a peculiar interest to the history of Harvard College. The Puritan ancestors of New England, with all the imperfections of those strange times, were the most extraordinary men that ever lived. They grew up in the field of controversy, — in the harness of battle, political and theological. For them, the brow of royalty was clothed in no overpowering majesty. The badges of a ceremonial church, the pomp of a splendid hierarchy with its imposing succession of orders, had no charms for their stern spirits. They were masters of human learning, and had become the ablest wielders of the weapons of logic. But though they set high value on scholarship, they held it subordinate to the knowledge of God's word. The things of this life were but little in comparison with the things of the next.

When they left the "pleasant land" of their fathers, they brought with them minds ripened in all good learning, as well as energies trained to their utmost in the school of experience. Among their first cares, they anxiously looked about for the means of preserving the blessing of education. "After God had carried us safe to New England," say they in the "First Fruits," "and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for

God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministry shall lie in the dust." This sentence is a key to the early history of Harvard University. Its express object was to educate the clergy. The first ministers of the Puritans were men trained up in the learning of England, and it was with them a matter of earnest solicitude that the tone of intellectual character should not be lowered among their successors. The people, too, were all imbued with the strongest religious feelings, and shared with their pastors in the anxious wish to found an establishment, that should be worthy of the great cause in which they had perilled everything dearest to man. Thus the College became an object of affectionate care to the hearts of the New Englanders. The contributions of indviduals and of the government, though small compared with the affluence of this age, were wonderfully liberal compared with the poverty of those hard times. Its growth was a theme of exultation; its success a matter of personal pride to the whole community; and we must needs sympathize in the feelings so quaintly and honestly expressed, of "great comfort" in the "publique declamations in *Latine* and *Greeke*, and disputations Logical and Philosophical, which they have been wonted (besides their ordinary exercises in the College Hall) in the audience of the magistrates, ministers, and other scholars, for the probation of their growth in learning, upon set days, constantly once every month to make and uphold."*

Such, in brief, were the leading circumstances in which Harvard College had its origin. It has ever since adapted itself, with as much pliancy as is useful in a public institution, to the varying wants of society. Its history is, therefore, of great importance, as an index of the literary growth of the New England people.

The task of preparing such a work could not have fallen into better hands. We understand that Mr. Peirce was distinguished in early life for his untiring zeal in the pursuit of knowledge. Among his class-mates at College he maintained a distinguished rank, and was graduated with the highest

* Appendix, p. 4.

academic honors. Having brilliantly completed his University career, he engaged in commerce, and soon won the confidence of his fellow citizens, of which he received frequent and decided testimonials. But the cares of business were not permitted to withdraw his mind from the cultivation of letters, and much of his leisure time was given to a thorough study of the English Classics; after the best of whom his taste and style seem to have been modelled. For these and other interesting facts we are indebted to the judicious Preface prefixed to Mr. Peirce's history, from the well known pen of Mr. John Pickering.

Mr. Peirce was appointed Librarian of Harvard University in 1826. He entered on the duties of his office with characteristic zeal, and in the course of a few years published an excellent catalogue of the invaluable collection of books belonging to that institution, in four octavo volumes. This may safely be called one of the most important literary undertakings, as it certainly was one of the most laborious, to which the talents of a scholar can be devoted. Of Heyne's labors in the same line at the University of Göttingen, Heeren exclaims, almost without exaggeration, "Immortal are his merits in regard to the catalogue!" All those gentlemen who have occasion to use the Library of Harvard College must feel themselves under a debt of gratitude to Mr. Peirce for this service to the cause of letters.*

Contemporaneously with this great labor, Mr. Peirce was gathering the materials for his History of Harvard University, which, at the time of his lamented death, was fortunately in a state of forwardness that justified its publication. The editorial duty was intrusted to Mr. Pickering, who has performed his part with his usual skill and ability. The style of Mr. Peirce is admirably adapted to a work of research and learning, like this history. It is pure and nervous English, disfigured by none of the fantastic forms of speech, which are scattered over much of the popular writing of the day. His taste was severe, but not dry. Perhaps the clearness of his language and its freedom from tasteless ornaments may be

* Since the publication of Mr. Peirce's Catalogue, the Libary has been so much increased, that Dr. Harris, his indefatigable successor, is, we hear, about to send to the press an octavo volume, by way of Supplement to the work of Mr. Peirce.

in part attributed to the business habits of a large portion of his life. Nothing lops off so unsparingly all superfluous flowers of rhetoric, as the throng and pressure of active occupation in the world. The style of this history will exactly suit the tastes of those who are old-fashioned enough to love the rich and strong and healthy language of our Saxon forefathers. The characters of the successive Presidents of the College, are drawn with much discrimination. They show the acute observation of the man of affairs, and the philosophical reflection of the man of learning. To avoid sweeping generalities on the one hand and fanciful details on the other, in reconstructing, as it were, the characters of men in times gone by, of whom in some cases but scanty memorials remain, we suppose to be one of the most difficult tasks of the historian. Every one, in reading or thinking about the personages who have been distinguished in the world, will form a distinct image in his own mind of each individual; but this image will very probably be far from correct. Among the most elegant portions of Hume's History of England are undoubtedly to be reckoned his portraits of the British monarchs; yet the researches of later and more impartial writers have shown us how wide of the truth passion and prejudice carried that accomplished and admirable author.

In reading the work of Mr. Peirce, we are struck with the great amount of labor he must have expended in searching out the authorities on which his statements are founded. His investigations went through a wide range. He examined carefully, not only the printed histories of contemporary and subsequent historians, but legislative documents, the records of the Corporation and Overseers of the University, the archives of historical societies, and manuscript journals of many private individuals, some of them of the most curious nature. We doubt if any authority of the slightest pretensions was unknown or overlooked by Mr. Peirce. Besides these, he carried on a correspondence with several of the oldest graduates of the University, from whom he derived much valuable information. Of these the two most remarkable individuals were the late venerable Dr. Holyoke of Salem and the Honorable Paine Wingate of Stratham, New Hampshire, now the oldest surviving Graduate. The interesting correspondence of Mr. Peirce with the latter gentleman is given at considerable length.

Such are the sources from which Mr. Peirce drew the materials of his history. It is a work on which implicit reliance may be placed. Every son of Harvard will read it with the profoundest interest; and those who feel no particular attachment to the University will be attracted by its excellent style and spirit, and the skilful manner in which it is put together. We look upon it as an unexceptionable model, in thoroughness of research, clear and comprehensive views, practical good sense, and purity of style, for all succeeding works on similar subjects.

This volume contains the history of the University from its foundation in 1636 to the death of President Holyoke in 1769. "If the author had lived," says Mr. Pickering,* "he would perhaps at some future time have brought his work down to a later period than is included in the present volume, which embraces the first century and a half of the University history. But the work now offered to the public is, nevertheless, to be regarded as the extent of his original design; and it comprehends a period, which from its antiquity and other causes affords more materials than any other to gratify the natural desire, felt by all men, to look to the illustrious deeds of the fathers."

The Puritans were singularly unfortunate in the first person who was placed at the head of the Institution. Of this man, whose name was Nathaniel Eaton, the historian gives the following account.

"The first person, who had charge of the institution, was Nathaniel Eaton. He was appointed in 1637; and was intrusted, not only with the education of the students, but with the care of managing the donations and erecting buildings for the College. In 1639, the General Court granted him 500 acres of land, on condition of his continuing his employment for life. He was undoubtedly qualified for the office by his talents and learning; but in other respects he proved himself exceedingly unfit for it. In the same year the grant of land was made to him, he was accused of ill-treating the students, of giving them bad and scanty diet, and exercising inhuman severities towards them; but, particularly, of beating his usher, Nathaniel Briscoe, and that in a most barbarous manner. His conduct, in a word, was so tyrannical and outrageous, that the Court dismissed him from his office, fined him 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.), and order-

* Preface, pp. vi, vii.

ed him to pay £30 to Briscoe. He was then excommunicated by the Church at Cambridge. Soon afterwards he escaped from the colony, went to Virginia, and thence to England, where he lived privately till the restoration of Charles the Second. He then conformed to the church of England, obtained a living, and became a violent persecutor of the Nonconformists. He was at length committed to prison for debt, and there ended his days." —pp. 4, 5.

A curious paper, containing a confession of Mrs. Eaton, is printed in the Appendix, taken from the notes by the Editor of Winthrop's Journal.

"For their breakfast, that it was not so well ordered, the flower was not so fine as it might, nor so well boiled or stirred, at all times that it was so, it was my sin of neglect, and want of that care that ought to have been in one that the Lord had intrusted with such a work. Concerning their beef, that was allowed them, as they affirm, which, I confess, had been my duty to have seen they should have had it, and continued to have had it, because it was my husband's command; but truly I must confess to my shame, I cannot remember that ever they had it, nor that ever it was taken from them. And that they had not so good or so much provision in my husband's absence as presence, I conceive it was, because he would call sometimes for butter or cheese, when I conceived there was no need of it; yet, forasmuch as the scholars did otherwise apprehend, I desire to see the evil that was in the carriage of that as well as in the other, and to take shame to myself for it. And that they sent down for more, when they had not enough, and the maid should answer, if they had not, they should not, I must confess, that I have denied them cheese, when they have sent for it, and it have been in the house; for which I shall humbly beg pardon of them, and own the shame, and confess my sin. And for such provoking words, which my servants have given, I cannot own them, but am sorry any such should be given in my house. And for bad fish, that they had it brought to table, I am sorry there was that cause of offence given them. I acknowledge my sin in it. And for their mackerel, brought to them with their guts in them, and goat's dung in their hasty pudding, its utterly unknown to me; but I am much ashamed it should be in the family, and not prevented by myself or servants, and I humbly acknowledge my negligence in it. And that they made their beds at any time, were my straits never so great, I am sorry they were ever put to it. For the Moor, his lying in Samuel Hough's sheet and pillow-bier, it hath a truth in it: he did so

one time, and it gave Samuel Hough just cause of offence; and that it was not prevented by my care and watchfulness, I desire [to] take the shame and the sorrow for it. And that they eat the Moor's crusts, and the swine and they had share and share alike, and the Moor to have beer, and they denied it, and if they had not enough, for my maid to answer, they should not, I am an utter stranger to these things, and know not the least footsteps for them so to charge me; and if my servants were guilty of such miscarriages, had the boarders complained of it unto myself, I should have thought it my sin, if I had not sharply reproved my servants, and endeavoured reform. And for bread made of heated, sour meal, although I know of but once that it was so, since I kept house, yet John Wilson affirms it was twice; and I am truly sorry, that any of it was spent amongst them. For beer and bread, that it was denied them by me betwixt meals, truly I do not remember, that ever I did deny it unto them; and John Wilson will affirm, that, generally, the bread and beer was free for the boarders to go unto. And that money was demanded of them for washing the linen, it's true it was propounded to them, but never imposed upon them. And for their pudding being given the last day of the week without butter or suet, and that I said, it was miln of Manchester in Old England, it's true that I did say so, and am sorry they had any cause of offence given them by having it so. And for their wanting beer, betwixt brewings, a week or half a week together, I am sorry that it was so at any time, and should tremble to have it so, were it in my hands to do again." — Appendix, pp. 31 – 33.

Among the first cares of our ancestors, was the instruction of the Aborigines in human and divine learning. They very naturally supposed that their efforts would be most successful if they could enlist in the work a number of native preachers. To this end they devoted their thoughts and labors with no little zeal.

"Not content" says Mr. Peirce, "with making great exertions for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, by preaching to them, catechizing them, giving them the Bible and other books in their own language, and laboring in various ways, the worthies of that day were very desirous they should enjoy the benefits of education; and even took great pains to make scholars among them, so that they might be supplied with learned and able ministers from their own stock. Their efforts, however, were not attended with much success; for those who undertook to study were apt to become tired and discontented, and to return to their countrymen; they frequently grew sick and died, after

having made considerable proficiency in learning; and, though several Indians were admitted into the College, only one was ever graduated. His name was Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck; he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1665, and soon afterwards died of a consumption. The friends of the Aborigines were not discouraged by these unpromising appearances; and, in 1665, at an expense of between £300 and £400 a house was erected for their accommodation, which was usually called the Indian College. It was of brick, and large enough to receive about twenty scholars; but so little use was made of it by the Indians, that it was soon afterwards occupied for other purposes, and particularly for a printing-office. The expense of erecting this building was borne by the 'Society for Propagating the Gospel' before mentioned, as was also, in a great measure, the expense of educating the Indians. The building was taken down many years since. It stood not far from the other buildings of the College."—pp. 27, 28.

From the discriminating sketch of President Chauncy, we extract the following passages, both as containing an excellent description of the man, and an amusingly characteristic trait of the age in which he lived.

"With all the elements, intellectual and moral, which enter into the composition of a great character, he was not exempt from the frailties of human nature, nor from the prejudices of the age in which he lived.

"His temper was hasty and passionate; but the good man deeply lamented this infirmity, and took great pains to correct it. To the warmth and quickness of his passions may probably be attributed, in no small degree, those unfortunate occurrences of his earlier years, which were the cause of so much sorrow to him during his subsequent life. Like the Apostle Peter, he seems to have been hurried by the excitement of the moment into rash and intemperate declarations, the consequences of which he either had not deliberately weighed, or had not, by the necessary discipline, prepared his mind resolutely to endure; but let it be remembered, that, like the same great Apostle, he afterwards truly repented of his fault, and, not only bore with patience and fortitude all the evils which befell him, but exhibited that spirit and energy of character, which would have sustained him under the severest trials of martyrdom.

"Belonging to the sect denominated *Puritans*, he was Calvinistic in his views; and, though he does not appear to have been deficient in charity, yet, with respect to manners and customs, he held those rigid opinions which, in giving no

quarter to the vanities and frivolities of the world, sometimes run into ludicrous extravagancies. We are not told how far he exacted simplicity in apparel; nor do we find it recorded, that, like his renowned contemporary, the Apostle Eliot, he preached and prayed against the abomination of *wigs*; but he inveighed from the pulpit with great vehemence against the kindred enormity of *long hair*. ''T is strange,' says his great-grandson, the famous Dr. Chauncy, ''t is strange, men of learning, real good sense, and solid judgement, should be able to expend so much zeal against a trifle, not to say a thing absolutely indifferent in its own nature. But the greatest as well as best men in this country, in that day, magistrates as well as ministers, esteemed the *wearing of long hair* an enormous vice, and most solemnly testified against it as such.'

"But after making all the deductions that can be reasonably demanded, enough will still be left to establish his claim to a high rank in the learned and religious world. He was a star of the first magnitude in a brilliant constellation of New-England worthies. With such lustre have their names been transmitted to posterity, that the late President Stiles, himself a scholar and divine of no ordinary reputation, ventured to say 'I consider him [Mr. Bulkeley] and President Chauncy, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Davenport, as the greatest divines among the first ministers of New England, and equal to the first characters in theology in all Christendom, and in all ages.'"—30-32.

The papers of this excellent man met with a singular fate. A Northampton Deacon, who occupied himself in the laudable work of making pastry, consumed them, it seems "in the oven at the bottom of his pies!"

Mr. Peirce has recorded several events of the early times of Harvard, that show the nature of students in a rather entertaining light. It seems that even the discipline of the Puritans could not utterly destroy the tendency to an occasional rebellious outbreaking among the breeched and wigged little Pilgrims. Seventeen, we are tlod, took in dudgeon some regulation of the authorities of the College, about the year 1656, and went off without their degrees! This very proceeding has been imitated many times since, and the increasing light of an advancing state of society has thus far failed to teach wrong-headed young gentlemen, the extreme absurdity of punishing themselves for what they, in their wisdom, fancy to be the injustice of their superiors.

The College went on prosperously, fulfilling the most san-

guine hopes of its founder and friends. Our limits will not permit us to notice particularly its early progress, and we pass over many most interesting particulars, for the sake of saying a few words on the brilliant administration of President Leverett.

Mr. Leverett was graduated in 1680, and studied theology. Afterwards he devoted himself to law, and practised some time in the courts. He also held several distinguished civil offices the duties of which he discharged with remarkable ability. Thus a wide range of experience in many and dissimular situations qualified him admirably for the office of President, which he held with great honor to himself and advantage to the Institution about seventeen years. His administration began in 1708, and was throughout distinguished for zeal, energy, and fidelity. During this period the College was an object of munificent patronage, and flourished with unprecedented splendor. It was during this period that the venerated name of HOLLIS became first associated with the history of the College. The various benefactions of this family are related with the particularity of detail which such disinterested services to the cause of learning deserve. What adds a singular grace to these benevolent deeds is the fact, that the objects of them were men of a different religious party from that to which the elder Hollises were attached, and that the age was one of almost universal bigotry. So bright an exception in favor of liberality is honorable alike to those who gave and those who received, and will shine with unfading lustre, notwithstanding the efforts of misguided religious partisans to dim its radiance by the darkness of their own narrow and exclusive dogmatism.

Mr. Leverett had the satisfaction of seeing the College increase in the number of its students, its accommodations, and, what is of perhaps greater consequence, the extent of its Library. But towards the close of his presidency, his peace was somewhat disturbed by a controversy originating in a claim set up by a resident instructer to a vacant place in the Corporation. The history of this agitating dispute is related with Mr. Peirce's usual perspicuity. It is a little singular that the same subject has been within a few years discussed anew, with great ability and copious learning, by such men as Mr. Edward Everett, Mr. John Lowell, and Mr. Andrews Norton.

The character of Mr. Leverett is thus delineated by Mr. Peirce.

"His qualications for the office were not only eminent in degree but singularly various. It is seldom that a man can be found at any time, who unites in his person so many of the talents and qualities, which are desirable in the head of a University, as were possessed by President Leverett. He had a 'great and generous soul.' His natural abilities were of a very high order. His attainments were profound and extensive. He was well acquainted with the learned languages, with the arts and sciences, with history, philosophy, law, divinity, politics; and such was his reputation for knowledge of men and things, that, 'in almost every doubtful and difficult case,' he was resorted to, for information and advice.

"To his wisdom and knowledge he added great firmness, resolution, and energy of character. His great abilities being consecrated to the service of God and of his generation, he was never deterred by difficulties or dangers from any undertaking, which Providence seemed to impose upon him. He prosecuted his plans with invincible constancy, diligence, and cheerfulness. The accomplishment of them was frequently the reward of this untiring perseverance; but if at any time his efforts were not attended with success, his strength of mind was equally conspicuous under the disappointment. It was in truth not *his own* will, but the will of *God*, that was his rule of life; *this* will he discerned in the failure, as well as in the success of his undertakings; and whatever was the result of them, he enjoyed at least the satisfaction arising from earnest, zealous, and faithful endeavours to perform his duty.

"In common with others, who have rendered important services to mankind, and made themselves truly great, he early acquired, and retained through life, the invaluable habit of industry.

"He possessed also those attractions, which are conferred by the graces; being, from the sphere in which he had always moved, a gentleman, as well as a scholar and a man of business.

"All his endowments, natural and acquired, all the operations of his mind and heart, were subjected to the control of religious and moral principle. He was a pious and good, as well as a great man. As might have been expected from one so enlightened, he was liberal and catholic in his sentiments and feelings; and though, among the various institutions of the commonwealth, he had the preservation of its religious establishments greatly at heart, 'he did not place religion so much in partic-

ular forms and modes of worship, or discipline, as in those substantial and weighty matters of the Gospel, *righteousness, faith, and charity.*'

"With so many solid and brilliant recommendations, and with the experience, which his former connexion with the College (as Tutor) had happily given him, he brought to the station, in which he was to pass the residue of his days, a spirit of government, which was never probably manifested in greater perfection. Such was the weight of his character; such his reputation for talents, learning, and virtue; such the 'majesty and marks of greatness in his speech, his behaviour, and his very countenance'; and so admirably did he temper severity with mildness; that the students were inspired with reverence and affection for him at the same time. The result, it is almost unnecessary to say, was obedience and order.

"Those princely qualities distinguished him indeed, when a young man, and a Tutor in the College. 'For forty years together,' says Dr. Colman, 'he has *shone* in *this place* and in the eyes of *this society*, in near a *meridian* lustre. For his *morning*, which we do but just remember, was so bright that it seemed to us even then the *noon* of life; and the College and country greatly *rejoiced* in his early and uncommon light. Near forty years past *we* saw the College flourishing under his wise instruction and government, his faithful watch, his diligent and authoritative inspection. We then beheld him esteemed highly in love and honored greatly by those that were his *fathers* in age; and as for *us* we reverenced, feared, and loved him as our father, and as if he had been then gray in the President's chair. *The young men saw him and hid themselves, and the aged arose and stood up.* Then *men gave ear to him, and waited and kept silence at his counsel. His glory was then fresh in him and his speech dropped upon us.*'"— pp. 122 – 124.

One of the most striking parts of the volume is the narrative of the controversy between the University and that firebrand of discord, Mr. George Whitefield. He came to New-England for the first time in the year 1740. With the presumptuous and disgusting arrogance, which marks the conduct of all religious fanatics, he immediately attacked the College for its "want of piety and true godliness," and compared it in this respect to the English Universities which, he said, were "sunk into mere Seminaries of Paganism." While reading this chapter we were continually reminded of the bitter and ruthless attacks, that have been made for a number of years past by the ringleaders of the more exclusive portion

of the Orthodox on the character of the College and of its governors. The charges are the same, and expressed in nearly the same language, and with about the same reason. Time has shown the folly and wickedness of the one, as it will of the other. The reply of Professor Wigglesworth to the base assertions of Whitefield is an admirable example of clear, argumentative, and dignified rebuke, and might with very little alteration be addressed to the calumniators of Harvard College at the present day. We would commend it in an especial manner to the reading of a few young gentlemen, who have made themselves notorious for some years back by their outrageous violence, showing all the reckless bitterness, redeemed by but little of the eloquence and real ability of Whitefield. Part of this able paper is printed in the Appendix. We can afford space but for the following succinct statement by Mr. Peirce of the issues of this controversy.

"From the fermentation, produced in the community by the warmth of Whitefield, soon arose a swarm of illiterate, conceited, noisy exhorters, that infested the land, going from place to place inveighing against the ministers and Colleges, and Arminianism and good works. Mr. William Croswell was very conspicuous among them. 'He publicly in great assemblies accused the President and Instructers and Governors of both Colleges of Arminianism and as enemies to the work of God, though he knows but little about them. He has advised some persons, as Foster of Plymouth, to take his son from College, and advised Fayerweather and other scholars not to mind what their Tutors said to them, told others that 't were better to send children aboard a man-of-war for education than to College. He has raved from Plymouth to Charlestown against the College and its Governors and greatest part of the ministers and some in Boston. These things people love to hear, and follow his preaching from town to town, many being puffed up in themselves and leavened with ill dispositions against the ministers, having both in contempt, even some women saying, they believe that few ministers are converted, limiting the nature of conversion to their own particular way of thinking about it, that is, sudden and temporary turns of distress and joy.' He said also, 'he intended to write against the College.'*

"Another person, by the name of Prentice, said 'he would make such an attack on the College as it never had yet.'

"* Flynt's MS. Diary."

"Some 'imputed the coldness grown upon scholars to the Tutors' not advising them about spiritual things.'

"The result of this controversy was no doubt satisfactory to the public and beneficial to the College. What effect Mr. Whitefield's denunciation had to injure the College, by keeping back patronage, by lessening the number of its students, or in any other way, is not known. It was probably much less than it would have been, had not Yale College, then the only one in New England except this, been included in the same proscription. President Holyoke in his letter to Mr. Whitefield, said to him, 'You have already (whether you designed it or not) *really injured us* not a little.' But from the continued and increasing prosperity of the College, it is evident that the injury received could not have been very considerable, either in magnitude or duration."— pp. 213, 214.

Such was the ground assumed by Harvard College in this controversy. It is obvious that she could have taken no other, consistently with good sense and a just feeling of her dignity.

And since that time she has maintained the same ground when assailed by the denunciations of bigotry, and has always presented a calm front to the assaults of popular delusion, urged to madness by religious agitators. Her principles of conduct have remained unaltered. Every change has been rung on the exciting topics of theological strife in bitter abuse of Harvard University; but she has firmly and moderately sustained the cause of liberal opinions and freedom of conscience amidst the storm and tumult of the warfare. She has been attacked for her *sectarianism:* but Mr. Gray has shown in his excellent letter to Governor Lincoln, that the real object of attack is, her *freedom from sectarianism.* This is her position now,— this has been her position in times very different from the present,— and this will be her position, in all human probability, so long as the passions of men are allowed to cover their venom under the garb of piety and religious zeal.

The character and career of Professor Wigglesworth were distinguished for all excellence; and his son and successor, Mr Edward Wigglesworth, seems to have inherited the noble qualities of his father. But among the most remarkable persons, who have ever been in the government of Harvard University, was Mr. Henry Flynt, familiarly known by the appellation of "Father Flynt," which is alluded to in the Latin oration of Mr. James Lovell. Of this gentleman Mr. Peirce has collected the following notices.

"He was an important member of this society during the greatest part of his life, which lasted eighty-five years. The interval between his taking his first degree and becoming one of its officers was short. He was a Tutor upwards of fifty-five years and about sixty years a Fellow of the Corporation. No other person has been connected with the College, in either of these capacities, or probably in any capacity, for so long a period, excepting Dr. Appleton, who was a Fellow of the Corporation sixty-two years. Mr. Flynt was also many years Clerk of the Board of Overseers. Most of the educated men in New-England, during a considerable part of the last century, had been under the instruction of this remarkable Tutor, or of those whom he had taught.

"In the words of Mr. James Lovell, who delivered a glowing oration in Holden Chapel at his interment: 'Unum equidem de eo dicere licebat, antequam e vitâ discesserat, quod nunquam de ullo alio fortasse dici poterit; — in universâ domo literariâ inter Novanglos, se PATREM-FAMILIAS agnosci oportere. Nemo est inter nostrates literatus, qui ei aliquo modo doctrinam suam acceptam referre non debeat.'

"'Mr. Flynt,' says Dr. Chauncy, 'is worthy of an honorable mention. I was forty years frequently conversant with him, and knew him to have been a solid, judicious man, and one of the best of preachers.' Though naturally inclined to indolence, 'he treasured up a great variety of useful knowledge'; and was an able and faithful instructer. He was distinguished for his firmness and consistency. To the principles he had once adopted he adhered without wavering. This was partly the result of constitutional temperament; but mostly, no doubt, of the deliberation and care, with which he formed his opinions. If there were nothing else remaining to prove the solidity of his character, the record he has left of his sentiments respecting Whitefield at the time of his first visit, when he was almost worshipped as something superhuman, would alone suffice: — 'He seems to me to be a pious, zealous man of good natural parts, and still good enough, but over censorious, over rash, and over confident, in some things enthusiastical and whimsical; he has treated the great and good Bishop Tillotson injuriously and scurrilously. I think he is a composition of a great deal of good and some bad; and I pray God to grant success to what is well designed and acted by him.'

"The same good sense was manifested in his checking one young man for his censoriousness, in saying to another who was talking about the 'free grace of God in Election, and of the Decrees,' that 'the Almighty's decrees were above them,' and particularly in making these general observations, 'Some have

extravagances of a weak and warm imagination. I have talked with several, observed some were converted, some were humble and sincere, some were ignorant, but hope they mean well. We that are rulers here should watch against corruptions that may arise from this affair, against the devices of Satan; and pray for ourselves and them, that the true work of grace may be promoted, obviate ill things, and encourage that which is good. We need wisdom and prudence, and must pray for it, must be sober and vigilant because of the adversary.'

"At the time of an earthquake, when some Students, who had been waked up by the noise and shaking ran to the room of the firm old man, as if for shelter from nature's rage, he calmly said to them, 'Poh, boys! go back to your rooms; earthquakes never do any harm in these high latitudes.'

"In his last sickness, Dr. Appleton asked him, if he was entirely willing to leave the world. 'No,' said he, 'I can't say that I am'; but after a short pause, he added, 'I don't care much about it.'

"*Father* Flynt, as he was familiarly called, was for some time the oldest living graduate of Harvard College; and the venerable gentleman still living at the age of ninety-two years, whose honorable career has been crowned by the same distinction (which may he long enjoy!) thus, in a firm and clear hand, writes respecting him: 'I remember very distinctly, hearing him preach for Dr. Appleton, when I was a freshman. He was the slowest speaker that I ever heard preach, without exception. He hardly kept connected in his discourse so as to make progress. However he made some amends for this defect by the weight and pertinency of his ideas. He was thought to be a judicious and able preacher, but not very popular. He never was settled in the ministry, but preached as occasion required; and he published a volume of Sermons which were received acceptably by the public. He undoubtedly was considered as a useful instructer in the College, or he would not have continued so long in office. I have often heard, that he was regarded as mild in his government of his pupils, and used to be an advocate for gentleness in punishing offenders. I have been told, that he would make an apology for them by remarking, that wild colts often made good horses. He was rather short and thick-set in corporal appearance, and when I knew him he had the marks of venerable old age.' *

"He was rational in his religious views, catholic in his disposition, and a pious and good man. Not, says Dr. Appleton, 'that he was without his foibles and failings. But,' with a

* "Letter of Judge Wingate to the author, April 2d, 1831."

naïveté, remarkable in a grave funeral discourse, he adds, 'any of them that were observable, I doubt not were owing in a great measure to that single state in which he lived all his days; which naturally begets in men a contractedness, with respect to their own private and personal concerns: and yet his heart and hands have been oftentimes opened in acts of piety and charity to the poor.'

"His habitual seriousness was enlivened by an agreeable vein of facetiousness and humor. 'Inerat ei candor animi, et festivitas quædam; et illa antiqua urbanitas, quam Cicero apud paucos sui temporis remansisse queritur. Idemque acumen ingenii, quod juvenem ornaverat, senem Flyntium non deseruit. Adeò ut si quis, eo præsente, ineptiùs se gessit aut dicacior jocis senem petivit, haud impune quidem abiit, sed sale candidissimo ab ipso sene perfrictus, illico obticuit.'*

"Some of his pleasant sayings are yet repeated, in which are discernible his characteristic steadiness and constancy. It was proposed in some parish to invite him to take the pastoral charge of it; but objections were made to him on the ground that he was believed not to be orthodox. Being informed of this judgment of the good people respecting his religion, he coolly observed, 'I thank God they know nothing about it.'" †— 260 – 264.

The administration of President Holyoke occupies the last forty pages of the volume. Like all the rest of the work, it is extremely well drawn up, and will be read with the greatest interest by every son of Harvard. With this the history closes, much to our regret. It is to be hoped that the work will be continued by some competent hand in the excellent spirit, in which it has been begun. The subsequent history of the College, its increased means of usefulness, and the wider range of literary studies which has marked its progress from time to time, afford ample materials for an interesting and valuable volume. The University will be found to have fulfilled her destiny, faithful to the high trust reposed in her by an enlightened community. The long array of accomplished scholars, able statesmen, and eloquent divines, who have gone forth from her venerable halls, will prove her to have been

"* Lovell's Oration."

† It is a little singular that several articles of furniture belonging to Mr. Flynt should lately have returned to Cambridge after the lapse of the greater part of a century. A silver vase, presented to him by the students with a Latin inscription, and a venerable table which he used for many years, are now in the possession of the family of Mr. President Quincy, who is a grandson of the son of Mr. Flynt's sister.

worthy of her illustrious origin. She has been calumniated in every form of abuse. Falsehoods the most unblushing have been heaped upon her fair fame, in the broad light of this boasted and boasting age. A party warfare, of almost unexampled ferocity, has been waged against her by men professing to reverence the religion of the Gospel. Denunciation and anathemas have been levelled at her with an arrogance and effrontery, which breathe the worst spirit of the darkest period in the history of man. These have been taken up and echoed by the subordinate characters in the disgraceful plot. Men who know nothing of the University, men who have never seen her walls, have retailed, with confidence proportioned to their ignorance, the shameful calumny. The tale has been believed by those who would not and those who could not be just. "Silly women" of all ages and both sexes have been led captive by the weakest credulity, their fears have been awakened by the most barefaced imposture, and their imaginations filled with "Gorgons, Hydras, and Chimæras dire" at the bare name of Harvard University. Ambitious and bustling young theologians, who aspire to the petty dignity of leaders of a sect, show their noble daring, by loudly clamoring the thrice-repeated and thrice-refuted libel. Hence, at ordinations, inaugurations, and other like exhibitions, the heresies of Harvard are a staple and standing topic of inflammatory harangues. It is so easy and so comfortable to show one's own superiority by passing a sweeping condemnation on his neighbour, and it is so grand a prerogative of spiritual dignity to declaim like Whitefield against the "Schools of Paganism," that we ought not to be much surprised at the eagerness, with which these modest young clerical gentlemen snatch at the tempting theme. Another charge has lately been brought by a writer, who has already occupied more of our attention in the last number than his claims to public notice deserve, — that *education at Harvard is superficial.* If it be meant, that education in that, compared with other Institutions in our country, is superficial, the assertion is so ridiculously untrue, that common sense would be insulted by an attempt to refute it. If it be meant, that the standard of scholarship there is lower than in the great Universities of Europe, the assertion is so obviously and necessarily true, that it is equally ridiculous to be at the trouble of making it.

But we entertain a pretty strong hope that Harvard Uni-

versity will yet live. She will identify her prosperity with the progress of sound learning and the liberal arts. The temporary phrenzy of religious party may for a time diminish the number of her students, but cannot permanently lessen her usefulness or obscure her fame. An Institution that sends abroad annually from fifty to sixty well-informed and well-principled young men, notwithstanding the efforts of her enemies, need have but little fear for the future.

ART. III. — *Sermons on Various Subjects, preached at the Church in Barton Square, Salem, Mass.* By HENRY COLMAN. Boston. Lilly, Wait, & Co. 1833. 8vo. pp. 347.

READERS who take up this volume, attracted by its uncommon neatness and beauty of mechanical execution, will not be likely to be disappointed on perusing it unless their expectations are unduly raised. The sermons it should be considered, do not purport to be elaborate and thorough treatises, profound discussions of knotty points in theology, or examples of impassioned declamation. They can claim, nevertheless, to be regarded as plain and useful discourses, many of them as highly interesting and instructive, and all together as forming a peculiarly appropriate monument to the author's pastoral affection and fidelity to his former people.

The discourses are twenty-five in number, with titles as follows: Nature and Revelation, Christianity as taught in the Gospels, Christianity as taught in the Epistles, Directions for understanding the Scriptures, Proof of Christianity independent of the New Testament, Human Nature, How far our Persuasions and Convictions may be relied upon, The Moral Government of God, Man's Personal Accountableness, Occasions of Self-deception, The Permanency of the Moral Law, Consistency of Character, Discouragements in Doing Good, Pauperism, Parental Solicitude, Filial Piety, Domestic Life, The Great Objects of Life, The Appointment of Death, The State after Death, Imperfection of Human Knowledge, Acquiescence in the Will of God, Man's Dependence, The Sins of men chargeable to themselves, Valedictory on Resigning the Pastoral Charge of the Church in Barton Square, Salem, Dec. 4, 1831.

A simple annunciation of the subjects suggests one defect in this collection which we regret to find, — the want of discourses on what may be termed peculiarly Christian topics. We do not now refer to treatises on the evidences of Christianity, or on the authority or interpretation of the Christian Scriptures, for of these there is enough in the volume before us; but we regret to find that so little is said of any of the thousand views that may be taken of the life and character of Christ, or of the peculiar genius of his religion, its peculiar spirit, motives, and sanctions. We are also tempted to complain of many of the subjcets as being too general, making it necessary for the preacher to be superficial and common-place as he hurries over them, and of course unsatisfactory. In such cases, it is true, by a happy division he may sometimes seem to cover the whole ground, and give the discourse a sort of logical completeness; but this is not the completeness that the people want, which is one of unity and filling up. Let the preacher narrow his ground; for, as a general rule, in the same proportion as he does this, he will be likely to become intelligible, interesting, and effective. Nine times out of ten it is not his doctrine that does any good, but his illustrations.

Those of Mr. Colman's sermons which are of an entirely practical character are, we think, to be preferred to those of a doctrinal or speculative cast; as the latter, probably from the cause just mentioned, evince at times a want of thoroughness, and of exact and careful statement and qualification, which leaves them open to serious and injurious misconstructions. Take, for example, the following passage from his sermon on "Christianity as taught in the Gospels":

"The Old Testament is an entirely distinct work from the New Testament. The Old Testament is in many respects as the New Testament a revelation from God. It contains several remarkable prophecies relating to the fortunes of the Jewish nation and the coming of the Messiah; and the writers of the New Testament quote the Old Testament writings and refer to them frequently as we might expect Jews writing for the benefit of Jews would do; but it is a great mistake to look upon the Old Testament writings as Christian scriptures, or to go to them to learn what the Gospel is. The one contains the religion of Jesus; the other the religion of Moses. There are many points of resemblance between them. The moral features of their religion are of course the same; for the great principles of moral duty are in their nature unchangeable; but in many respects

the two religions are totally different; and we can with no more propriety go to the Old Testament to learn what the Gospel is, than we should go to it to find out what our duty is in the ritual and Levitical law. The Old Testament writings are Jewish scriptures; the New Testament writings are Christian scriptures. The Jews, in this respect, are far more consistent than Christians. The Jews refuse to receive the Gospel because they see that it at once and utterly abrogates their law; whereas the Christians cling to the Old Testament scriptures as authority in their religion notwithstanding this abrogation and the difference of the one religion from the other. The Mosaic religion was a religion designed for a particular people under peculiar circumstances and for peculiar purposes. The Christian religion is a universal religion, designed for all mankind, and the great and universal purposes of religion and morals." — pp. 21, 22.

Doubtless the New Testament, and particularly the Gospels, should be consulted as our principal source of religious instructions. But if Mr. Colman means that Christians, to be "consistent," must disown the authority of the Old Testament, as the Jews do the authority of the New, or that the New Testament is a "work" "so entirely distinct" from the Old, as not to be essentially dependent on it in any respect, or that the abrogation of the ritual of "the Mosaic religion" was an abrogation of the religion itself, he assumes more than we can admit.

On subjects, and it is a large and important class, calling for a familiar acquaintance with society, and great freedom and courage in exposing prevalent abuses, blended however with a tone of much seriousness, tenderness, and moderation, Mr. Colman generally excels. We would refer to the whole discourse on Pauperism as a favorable illustration of this remark, and single passages to the same effect might be cited from other parts of the volume. Thus in resisting one of the common arguments for original sin, he observes:

"Children are said to be given to falsehood, prevarication, deception; and these things are cited as triumphant proofs of an original and innate depravity. We admit that these are common failings or vices with children, though not to the extent which is usually represented. But, first, we say that children generally are not responsible for them, and, secondly, that they are not so much the vices of children, as of persons of adult age. It is not natural to children to lie; but it is natural to them

to speak the truth; and they would always speak the truth, and act the truth, if they were not driven to an opposite course by a fear of punishment, or corrupted by our example, and taught to deceive by the countless deceptions and falsehoods, which they see practised, and hear uttered, in the ordinary business and intercourse of life; and by the encomiums which they hear passed continually upon successful cunning and fraud; and upon that subtle and polished address, which the customs of refined society demand, but which children, who are admitted behind the scenes, discover is deceptive, and only put on for the occasion. Then again, what magnificent falsehoods we tell them, by way of quieting their restlessness; what equivocal, or evasive, or false answers we think ourselves, through a mistaken and false modesty, at liberty to give to many inquiries, dictated by a natural and artless curiosity, which it would be much safer to gratify by speaking the truth, or to repel by a direct refusal to answer; and then, too, how often we oblige them, by bribery or fear, to lie and deceive, in order to hide our own folly, to gratify our own vanity, or to shelter our own weakness. It must be observed likewise by every one, that a great part of the language of social intercourse, is so hyperbolical and extravagant, that to them it must appear false. We, who have been long accustomed to it, are not deceived by it; it is a sort of depreciated currency, which men, familiar with society, never take at its nominal value, but always at a large discount; much of it, all of us understand to be entirely valueless, and merely serving as a form of intercourse; but it is some time before children learn this; they hear it; they believe, they know it to be false; but they see it circulate, given and accepted by persons, whose example they regard as a proper standard of duty; and by such a process, and such examples, they are early taught to deceive. It could hardly be otherwise. These vices in children, therefore, do not spring from any innate or original perversity; but they are taught them, and taught them under such circumstances, that their early proficiency can excite no surprise." — pp. 313, 314.

The following paragraph, from the frequency of suicides, has a solemn pertinency and application at the present time.

"Many a time, when men have found themselves here involved in the miserable consequences of their folly and sins, they have poured out the vain wish that they could die at once; or the still vainer wish that they had never been born. Often the unhappy convict has presumptuously anticipated the awful sentence of the law, and thrown back upon God a life which he had

dishonored and abused. Here the analogy ceases; death is one thing, annihilation is another. Men may kill themselves; but death is not the end of a man; it is only the commencement of another life; to extinguish our existence, to say that we will cease to be, is not in our power. The power of annihilating, as the power of creating, belongs only to one Being. Death removes man from our sight; but in God's sight men never die. The existence remains; what properly constitutes the man, all that makes up the moral being, the capacity of action, perception, intelligence, suffering, enjoyment, remains; and, when these earthly incumbrances have fallen and the immortal spirit has burst from its earthly abode, must put on new freshness, vigor, expansion, sensibility. We exist at the pleasure of God, not at our own pleasure. He has made man in his own image; and destined the human soul to share in the sublime attribute of his own eternity."— pp. 118, 119.

With the sermons we have an excellent Address to the Society delivered by Mr. Colman at the installation of his successor, and to the whole are appended Notes containing Mr. Colman's request for a dismission, and the record of the proceedings of the Society thereupon. Both papers abound with warm and unaffected expressions of mutual confidence, affection, and respect.

ART. IV. — *Qu'est ce qu'un Serviteur de Jesus Christ? Trois Discours adressés aux Étudians en Théologie, &c.* Genève et Paris. 1832. 8vo. pp. 128.

The Minister of Christ described, in Three Discourses, addressed to the Students in Divinity at the Opening of the Course in November, 1829, 1830, *and* 1831. By J. E. CELLÉRIER, the younger; Professor of Criticism and of Sacred Antiquities in the Theological Faculty of the Academy of Geneva.

WE have been so much interested in these truly admirable Discourses, that we are desirous of making them known to our readers in this country; and this, not merely that they may understand with what serious views and delightful feeling the young ministers of our sister church at Geneva

are sent forth to their work, but that they may be better acquainted with the name and worth of the excellent man who is their guide. With Chenevière, one of his colleagues, we have done something to make them acquainted, by our notices, in previous numbers; of his Essays on some points of doctrinal theology. The present publication of Cellérier will render him at least as favorably known. It consists of three lectures, delivered to the theological class at the opening of three successive seasons, and designed to give a description of the ministerial character, with a view to impress the minds of those young men with a sense of the solemnity of their undertaking, and to excite in them that enthusiasm and resolution which are requisite to success in it. His representations are such as would not be unseasonable here. The ministers of the gospel, young and old, need to be frequently admonished and exhorted, reminded of what they should be, and stimulated to better and better efforts. At the risk therefore of being thought to write a homily rather than a review, we propose to give a sketch of his course of remark; not limiting ourselves rigidly to his thoughts or illustrations, but freely enlarging on some points and abridging others, as may seem best adapted to the purpose we have in hand.

The topics of these Discourses are, first, the moral principles and dispositions by which the minister of the gospel should be characterized; second, the reasons for an absolute and earnest devotedness to his work; third, a description of the work which he is to perform, or of the objects and purposes of the ministry.

The first trait or disposition, which should characterize the minister, he says, is the love of moral excellence, the desire of spiritual perfection. This lies at the foundation of all fitness for the work of the ministry, and is an essential prerequisite to the satisfactory discharge of its duties. He must desire first and above all things, that his own soul should become the image of its Maker in purity and benevolence; he must be perpetually filled with holy thoughts and pure affections. He must thus, according to the expressive language of the Scriptures, have his conversation in heaven; his heart and his treasure must be there. Then he will enter with relish into the peculiar studies and employments of his profession; then he will be pleased with opportunities

of religious intercourse with his fellow men, and will have delight in performing for them the offices of instructor, counsellor, guide. But if his tastes are worldly, if his habitual character of mind, if his favorite topics of thought, and his favorite pursuits are selfish and earthly, then the duties of the ministry, being incongruous with the state of his mind and heart, will be irksome. Indeed, even innocent tastes, if they become the ruling propensities of the man, may unfit him for the ministry; — an absorbing love of classical learning, or of scientific inquiries, a passion for the polite arts, or a love of elegant society, may be so far indulged as to untune the mind for the peculiar engagements of the holy office. Those engagements must form his chief pleasure. They must not only be his profession; he must *prefer* them to all other pursuits, to all other pleasures. This cannot be done, unless he be imbued with the love of moral perfection, and make excellence of personal character the cherished object of his life. For no man will eagerly devote himself to a calling which is not congenial to his character. No man will give his life to the promotion of piety and virtue with that steady enthusiasm of purpose which is requisite to success, unless he have derived his own happiness from exercises of piety and the practice of virtue. This, therefore, must be his first aim. Nothing can supply the want of it. Learning, genius, eloquence, art, are unable to fill its place. They cannot reconcile to itself the mind which is conscious of its own inconsistency; nor can they act upon other men like the simple expression of sincere and ardent feeling.

Hence it is in vain that one enters the ministry as a profession. It is beginning at the wrong end; it is beginning with a state of mind, with an object and purpose, which go directly to hinder the work he has in view; which turn it all into a drudgery, and prevent the probability that it should be a pleasure. A lawyer to a certain extent, and a physician, may succeed in his profession without loving it, and without having had any personal experience of the evils of litigation or the sufferings of disease. He may learn from books, from observation, from other men; it is a matter of intellectual acquisition and practice. But not so in the ministry. This is essentially a matter of moral operation. The intellect works only as an auxiliary of the heart; and

he, whose heart is not in the work, who does not love that truth and virtue which he is engaged to promote, who has no personal attachment to the goodness he preaches, has felt no ardent longing for the blessing which he urges on others, — in a word, who has no interest in religion as his own personal concern of duty and happiness; — must necessarily work at disadvantage. He may possibly be a manufacturer of sermons which shall be counted respectable and sensible; but this is not to *succeed* in the ministry. He may be a very judicious and correct man, but does he enjoy the peculiar duties of his calling? Does he enter with zest into its various arduous and trying scenes? Does he find himself capable of carrying consolation and peace to those with whom he lives, and exciting in them a strong desire to know and practise the truth? If not, he does not succeed, though he preach like Barrow or Bossuet. He certainly does not enjoy himself. He wants the first requisite, — personal religion.

Hence, too, in the actual exercise of the ministry, as well as in the preparation for it, the cultivation of personal religion is always to be regarded as the duty of first and most essential importance. Any other preparation, any other habit, any other state of mind, may be more easily dispensed with than the personal love of religion. Neither ignorance nor imbecility of mind can lead to errors so fatal to peace and usefulness as want of interest in religion. The church can suffer no evils to be compared with those which must spring up under the administration of irreligious ministers. Necessarily they are hypocrites; if active, therefore, and zealous, it can only be from sinister motives, and who can tell to what desolating courses ambition, selfishness, worldliness may lead them? and if inactive, the people must go to sleep, and the cause of goodness and truth die. There is no security against these evils, excepting in the supreme and sincere attachment to principle as a personal thing on the part of the clergy. To this, then, let them be called. And let them be solemnly aware, that, as in every situation of life, so in theirs no less than others, there exist peculiar and characteristic temptations. Let them give steadfast heed to all such circumstances as may promote or retard the growth of the true state of mind. Let them arrange their ordinary habits of life, the disposition of their time, the allotment of

their studies, the hours of their retirement and devotion, — the choice of their books, their companions, their recreations, with a special view to their influence on the accomplishment of their main object, and be drawn from it by no enticements of passion or of earth.

Such is a sketch of what is intended by the first of the dispositions named as characteristic of the minister. It relates to his personal character. The second concerns his relation to the people whom he serves. It is, the love of men, the love of souls as it is termed; philanthropy. The first is contemplative and retired; the second is public and active.

The ministry is an active, not a contemplative profession. They greatly err who assume it as a secluded walk, sacred to private study, and literary leisure, and meditative philosophy. This was the life of the monks; and in some quiet days and in certain quiet places, it has been, without blame, the life of many a clergyman. But it is not the *characteristic* life of the Christian ministry. Especially in these days, he that is not ready for action, he that does not mean to go out amongst men, and take part in the burden and heat, the stir and tumult of society, and put his shoulder to the wheel of human improvement which is rolling on, but means to make the parsonage a retreat, and the church a cloister, and the intercourse with his flock a recreation; — that man has mistaken his vocation; no such luxuries are in reserve for him; the church and the times allow him no luxury but that of *doing good*, — with some sacrifice of ease, with some abandonment, it may be, of favorite study, — but with much earnest and constant action *for* men and *on* men. To reconcile him to this, and to prepare him for it, it is requisite that he love them. To the love of moral excellence, he must add, that which is its complement and its consequence, *the love of mankind.* If he truly have the one, he cannot be deficient in the other; — for that man cannot labor reluctantly for the salvation of men, who has himself experienced the true longing after moral perfection. When he has loved himself so rightly as to desire his own spiritual good, he will love his neighbours as himself and desire their spiritual good. Without this love of men, where would be his resistance against selfishness, discouragement, ill success? Where the excitement and support in duty? If he had not this love,

how could he reprove without offending the sinner, or know how to speak consolation to the troubled, or to exhort and admonish with gentleness and force, and always find the way to the heart? But with an affectionate interest in men, disinterested, deep-rooted, ardent, all will proceed naturally, as it were; it will be but to follow the impulse within, to gratify the longing of the heart.

Herein the ministry of Christ is our model. It was a ministry of benevolence. The wonderful activity and patient endurance which distinguished it, are to be traced to that deep and disinterested love which filled his heart. No man can worthily follow him in his work who does not cherish the same affection; and certainly no means can be adopted of cherishing that affection, of kindling the same philanthropic impulse, so sure as the study of his compassionate and energetic character, and the familiar contemplation of his lovely and sublime career. When one thus regards his profession as honored and sanctified by the manner in which Christ exercised it, it assumes a new importance and grandeur in his eyes. All associations with it disappear, but those of a high moral beauty and dignity. Life and society assume new aspects of interest and value; and men, — instead of the mere inhabitants of earth, creatures to carry on the affairs of society, to be employed, or sought, or shunned, as interest or chance may dictate, — become brethren to be loved, victims of misfortune to be relieved, exiles from heaven to be led home again. When he looks upon them, he remembers how his master regards them; he imagines that he sees Jesus moving about amongst them; he observes in what manner of service toward them he is engaged, — how he aids, enlightens, comforts, reforms. He thus learns how he himself is to make the ministry of Jesus *an occasion for* good works; and he goes forth, quitting his favorite books, his chosen companions, his delicious retreats, — goes forth, in the spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice, into a sphere of *action;* — to remember the forgotten, to cherish the forsaken, to teach the ignorant, to rouse the stupid, to console the suffering, to reform the vicious; and to persevere in so doing, — with patient and all-conquering love, amidst perversity, ingratitude, contempt, and loss, — satisfied to be like Christ and to benefit men, even though his only earthly reward should be, like that of his Master, obloquy and persecution.

It is then evident, that the ministry is to be successfully pursued only by a spirit of *earnest devotedness.* To illustrate this is the object of the second lecture, in which M. Cellérier proceeds to show the necessity of absolute, single-hearted devotedness. For consider, he says, *the extent* of the work. It is altogether without limit. The powers of the most devoted soul, and the highest intellect united to a body of iron, could not exhaust it. Let the utmost be done to instruct, to relieve, to reform, and there will remain multitudes within reach, who still need to be instructed, relieved, reformed. Let study, meditation, thought, reach as far and as high as they may, there are still unfathomed depths of truth for further study, meditation, and thought. The work is absolutely without limit. There is nothing to circumscribe it, but the strength of him who is engaged in it. It plainly demands, then, the devotion of the whole man; all his powers, all his time; and since men are everywhere seen devoting themselves, soul and body, to less worthy pursuits, what unspeakable shame must be his, who thinks that this office may be put off with those leisure moments that cannot be otherwise employed! And yet there have been men, who have crept into the easy chair of the church because they esteemed it the place in which the greatest amount of comfort and respectability was to be had with the least amount of labor; — who have thought that the ploughman and the weaver, the banker and the politician, must devote their toilsome days and watchful nights to their needful or gainful callings, but blessed their lot that he, who had only to teach the gospel and save souls, might eat his bread in quiet and have his time to himself. What a fearful delusion is this! Jesus came to bring reform and salvation to the world, to souls which are destroying themselves, to generations which are born to sin and die. He wept for them, he toiled for them, he poured out his blood like water, and sent his ministers to entreat them to come to him and God. And yet, in the face of all this misery, bearing the commission of a master who had set such an example, — where there is so much to be done and such a reward for those who do it, — they are willing to lounge away their days, and occupy the sacred place only as a means of comfortable livelihood!

Not so the true minister. He will find a limit to his

exertions, not in what he has done, nor in what he thinks it convenient to do, but only in his capacity for exertion. His maxim will be, *Nil actum reputans, dum quid superesset agendum.* Even in his recreations he will be planning for the promotion of his great work, and find opportunity to advance it. For he feels, that although he should employ all the time at his disposal, and should possess that firmness of health, that intellectual activity, that mental energy, which make the extraordinary men, — he would yet, as they have done, have cause for frequent dissatisfaction at the consciousness of inefficiency, and of the impossibility of accomplishing all that needs to be done. He therefore consecrates himself with habitual, uncompromising, devotedness, to his arduous and glorious vocation. The love of excellence, the love of men, the love of Christ, constrain him; and the thought of the sin and misery which he may help to remove, excites him to do with his might, in season and out of season, whatever his hands find to do.

The next reason for this devotedness, drawn from the nature of the soul and its powers, our author illustrates with great force. There is profound philosophy, he says, in the maxim which was uttered by one greater than all philosophers, "No man can serve two masters." And he goes on to show, how neither the heart, nor the mind, nor the action of man can put forth its full energy in a divided work. There must be one supreme object of affection, one definite and exclusive subject of inquiry, one distinct and single purpose of life. If you divide your allegiance between duty and interest, conscience and passion, the good of your neighbour and self-indulgence, there will be nothing steadfast in your sentiments or your plans; all will be superficial, vacillating, unsatisfactory; you will labor languidly and accomplish imperfectly; you will thus dwindle down into an ordinary, inefficient man, such as the minister of Christ should not be, but such as he will infallibly become, unless he devote himself, with singleness of desire and concentration of effort, to his ministry alone.

Every one knows how important is this unity of purpose, this concentration of power, to all successful intellectual enterprise. It is to an equal degree the source of *moral* strength. Every thing is easy to the spirit of devotedness. He that is devoted to a great object with an absorbing

enthusiasm of the soul, forgets himself, in his ardor and his employment; and what has always been the source of greatness and happiness to man but self-forgetfulness? Absorbed in his own concerns, his affections and plans centred in himself, man is unhappy; it is only by going out of himself that he finds felicity; and the more entirely he removes his regards from himself to other beings, — to the human race, to the Saviour of men, to the Father of the universe, — the more perfectly he loses the thought of himself in his thought of them, the more he becomes like higher beings in happiness and in greatness. This is a law of our nature, distinctly recognised in the Scriptures, and written no less distinctly on the heart; which, amidst all the tumults of passion and sense, evermore sends up from its deep recesses that interior voice, heard by all who will listen, which speaks of the excellence of disinterestedness and of generous enthusiasm, and thus reveals the true greatness of the soul. Man, degraded by sin, is thus reinstated by the power of self-renunciation; he humbles himself, and is exalted. Never is this more truly so, than in the case of the faithful minister; a self-devoted, self-oblivious follower of Christ in his lowliness and philanthropy, he comes to partake with him in his serenity and joy, and thus rising above the selfishness and passions of earth, enjoys a foretaste of the peace and spirituality of heaven.

Our author further urges the necessity of this devotedness on ministers of the present day, from a consideration of the state of society and the spirit of the age. Every thing is in a state of excitement. In all departments of life there is a passionate earnestness, an eager urgency for advancement. Theology partakes of the universal agitation, and is examined and discussed in the same excited and vehement way, as are all other subjects. In the ministry, therefore, mediocrity and lukewarmness will not do. The man of unfurnished mind and inactive temper, who seeks to take his ease instead of going forward, will be despised; but, unhappily, the contempt will fall also on his profession. Men infer from his indifference, that it does not deserve any enthusiastic attachment, or at least that he thinks it does not. Let the minister dread to bring this reproach upon his religion! Let him not cause the Christian faith to be esteemed less worthy of regard, than the study of the law or of natural histoy, —

less important to man than political economy and the poor laws. These, as well as poetry and taste and the fine arts, have their enthusiastic advocates, their earnest, devoted friends, who display their devotion, who watch and toil, who endure fatigue and make sacrifices, for their favorite pursuits. The follower of religion must do the same, or he cannot vindicate to his holy faith an equal claim to regard with the secular sciences, or even the trifling accomplishments, for which men are running mad.

This active and excited temper of the times is also a temper of inquiry, of free and bold discussion, where grave questions are no longer settled by authority, or debated in the halls of the learned, but are brought out before the community, and offered to the judgment of all minds. Religion no longer holds its place by simple right of prescription, by habit, by tradition, by law. Its claims are scrutinized, and, if it is to stand, it must be because it can sustain a strict search, and gain strength from trial. Its ministers are no longer, as formerly, men robed in authority by the government of the state, nor reverenced simply because they are priests, preachers, and pastors; they are not, as they once were, men wearing a certain dress, and doing certain things, at stated times, for a stipulated remuneration. Their claims rest wholly on their characters and their usefulness; on their talents for influence and action; on their learning, integrity, and zeal. In such days they are nothing, they can do nothing, except through an absolute and uncompromising devotedness. They stand in the midst of action, and they must act; in the midst of foes, and they must contend. This is a very important view for the minister to take. He sees, on one side of him, the open opposers of the gospel, — bold unbelievers, — assailing our holy and reverend faith with rancorous hate and bitter blasphemy; casting reproach on that lovely name, which infidelity itself has heretofore honored, and even denying the great Being who is the author of existence; active, too, as infidelity never before has been, to organize its forces, to corrupt the fountains of knowledge, to spread its desolating principles, and make converts of the young and the ignorant to a low and brutalizing unbelief.

On the other side, there are the advocates of a certain imposing philosophy, which assumes a lofty tone of elo-

quence and enthusiasm, addresses itself to the higher nature of man, and seeks proudly to lift him to a divine elevation; but which would achieve it all by its own intellectual force, would allow nothing to the cl ims of a divine revelation, and laughs at the idea of aid from above.

And again, within the very bosom of the church, and in the very company of believers, is another class, bearing the name, but injurious to the religion, of our Master. They call themselves Christians, but in their lives they deny the power of the faith. They live for themselves and the present world, and bring reproach, suspicion, and shame on the truth, by the scandalous inconsistency and selfishness of their lives.

And there are others, Catholics and Protestants, who have corrupted the pure faith, and are zealous for their errors, and cease not, day and night, to do what they may to thicken the cloud which has been raised over the pure light of truth.

In the midst of these "armies of the aliens," the minister is set "for the defence of the gospel." Is there not a peremptory call on him for devotedness to his work? What gives to any of these adversaries their strength, but their activity and zeal? And can he have strength without? The enthusiasm, with which men give themselves to a bad cause, is the argument by which it is advanced; and it is an argument which cannot be spared from a good cause. We may depend upon it, that we become feeble just in proportion as we are indifferent. Just so far as we allow timid good sense and calculating prudence to prevail over warm-hearted earnestness, and show that we care more to be inoffensive than to be zealous, we give other men a reason for doubting whether we love the truth, or whether we possess the truth to be loved. All men at heart stand by the saying of Cicero, "Malo errare cum Platone, &c." They incline to the earnest, even at the risk of error, rather than to the inactive and lukewarm with all speculative truth on their side.

But what is the work, to which the servant of Christ is thus devotedly to give himself? The answer is obvious and simple. It is the work which was done by Jesus Christ. We learn what the disciple is to perform, from observing what the Master did. It is the object of the third lecture to describe this, which is done under four particulars.

First, Jesus preached the forgiveness of sins. It was a leading purpose of his ministry, and must be so of his ministers.

It is impossible not to perceive, that the gospel regards man as a sinful being. It addresses him, it provides for him, as such. It makes little or nothing of the question how he became so; but it distinctly and always recognises him in this character, and proposes, as its great end, to change this character. All history and experience corroborate this view; all set forth the weakness and depravity of mankind. It has been the object of legislation, through all ages, to provide against it, and of philosophy, in all times, to find a remedy for it, and of religion, in all its forms, to propitiate the Divinity on account of it. Christ assumes the same view of the human condition; proposes in his religion a remedy for it; and, as a prominent feature of the system, as well as a motive and encouragement to reformation, asserts the doctrine of pardon for repented sin.

What then is the duty of a minister of Christ in this particular? Plainly that the ideas of sin and pardon should lie at the foundation of his Christianity, and hold a first place in his teachings. Otherwise he must fail of seconding the chief object of the Saviour, and of reaching the great want of man. His views must be deficient in depth, force, and truth. Hence he will not speak to men simply of their noble origin, their wonderful capacities, their sublime destiny, and the excellence and beauty of virtue; this might only serve to mislead them. He will also speak much and feelingly of their weaknesses, their corruptions, their need of amendment and reform. His great topics will be the evils of sin, the means of overcoming them, repentance, conversion, redemption, salvation. He carefully combines these with the other views, showing to men at once their capacity for all that is good, and their actual state of unfitness for it; and urging them, by all the solemn considerations thus arising, to "depart from evil, and do good, and dwell for evermore."

The lecturer insists on this point with some earnestness, because, as he says, mistake respecting it is very easy, especially with young men of generous views and sanguine enthusiasm, to whom all looks fair and promising, and who readily believe the world to be much better than it is. Per-

haps the error is not an uncommon one. We treat men as if they were habitual and fervent lovers of truth and seekers of goodness, forgetting even our own speculative conviction, that they are corrupted by sin, and far from a pure state of heart or of life. We speak to them calmly and philosophically about duty, as if they had only to hear and be informed, forgetting, though we know it to be so, that they are convinced already, that they are already calm philosophers on this subject, but that in the crowd of worldly temptations their philosophy is constantly mastered by their interests and passions, and their convictions overborne by their propensities. The preacher must avoid this error, if he would not throw away his labor. He must treat men as they are, as his Saviour treated them, as beings worldly, selfish, debased, and so borne down by the thraldom of an earthly life, that only the most severe and thrilling views of responsibility and futurity can be expected to move them. His whole tone must be like that of his Master, calling not the righteous, but *sinners* to repentance, and seeking, that he may save, that which is *lost.*

This mode of viewing the condition of man can alone lead to effective address, because it alone regards man as he really is. His actual condition is one of trial, exposure, weakness, sin, and we must treat him accordingly, if we would hope to influence him. Observe two of the leading classes which make up every congregation. The first, everywhere to be found, is composed of the humble and thoughtful, who are conscious of their unworthiness, and solicitous about their religious prospects. They are troubled by their infirmities and sins, and the fear that they may not find mercy. Suppose we preach to them to do their duty, to do the best they can and be satisfied. But they cannot be satisfied; they have tried this; they have found that they cannot do their duty to their own satisfaction; they constantly come short of their own notions of what is right and of their own intentions. Therefore our insisting on their capacity and obligation is not enough; they feel the obligation, but they do not find the capacity; when they would do well, evil is present with them. What they want is, to understand the provision which God has made for precisely such cases as theirs; that is, they need to know the doctrine of the divine grace, of repentance and pardon, as taught under the

sanction of Jesus Christ. This will give them assurance, faith in this will afford them the support and encouragement which, in their infirmity and timidity, they need. They have been exclaiming in their despondency, "Who will deliver us from the body of this death?" and now they cry out in rejoicing faith, "Thanks be to God, who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Observe, now, the other class of the self-satisfied, self-confident, who never have a misgiving of their own virtue and acceptance with God, nor make one anxious effort for self-improvement. They have no idea that they need correction, aid, or forgiveness, and are not occupied in the work of amending or advancing their own characters. The preacher's duty is to rouse them from this fatal indifference, to disturb their thoughtless security, to break down their heartless self-confidence, to open their eyes to their real characters. But, instead of this, they perhaps hear nothing from the pulpit but treatises on the pleasures and rewards of virtue, and the glorious destinies of humanity. They assent to it all, certainly, it is very beautiful, very delightful, very true; they do not dream that it does not all apply to themselves. They have never so had their attention called to themselves, as to be made to doubt that they are what they admire. They have been accustomed to thank God that they are not like other men, unjust, adulterers, subjects for the state's prison, or even as some members of the church; they are very regular, good men. Now this sort of preaching helps to confirm their self-deception; it does nothing to disquiet for a moment the equanimity of their careless self-complacency, but rather confirms them in it, by presenting exclusively those views of religion which gratify the imagination, and concealing those which awaken the conscience. Thus even truth, being only partially unfolded, tends to strengthen them in error and sin. It was not thus that the Saviour preached. Repentance and remission of sins was the burden of his message. It should be that of his ministers. If not, they do not adapt themselves to the actual condition of men, and cannot say that which will make them truly religious.

We have dwelt upon this point the longer, because it is one, in regard to which preachers are peculiarly liable to err; and because it is a fundamental mistake to suppose,

that the sternest representations of human sinfulness are at all inconsistent with the most inspiriting doctrines respecting the excellence of man's original capacities, and the glory of his final destiny. On the contrary, they are peculiarly suited to go together.

The second point in the lecture grows out of the first. If the doctrine of sinfulness and pardon be the foundation of Christ's work, the end of it is sanctification, — the moral perfection of the individual. Every thing in the teaching of Christ tended to this point. Every thing in the teaching of his minister must be directed toward it likewise. He must "teach and warn every man, that he may present every man perfect." Whatever does not tend to this, is no part of his work, and should share no portion of his serious affections or important labor. To this every thing must be held secondary. The love of study must be sacrificed to the labors which may be necessary for its accomplishment. Let him be as learned as he can; let his mind be filled with knowledge; but let him remember, that learning and knowledge are but the tools of his trade; he is to use them on his work, not to shut himself up for the sake of keeping them in order, and leading men to admire their brilliancy and sharpness. Let him also, in every possible way, interest himself in projects for the good of society, and the promotion of the temporal well-being of his fellow-men. But let him do this, as Oberlin planted trees and built roads in the mountains, only as preparatory to a religious influence. However they may promote the progress of knowledge and order, or increase the comforts of the destitute and suffering, they can give him little satisfaction if that be all. He pants for the growth of piety, for the progress of individual holiness. He knows that no other result would satisfy his Master, who gave his life, not for the advancement of knowledge, but for the salvation of souls from sin, and he can allow nothing else to satisfy himself.

The third point is, that Jesus, in all his teachings, applied himself to man as a rational being, and had it constantly in view, by his doctrine, to promote the elevation and progress of our intellectual nature. His ministers therefore are to honor it, not to trample upon or defame it, not to be jealous of it, as if opposed to faith, but to seek through faith to exalt it and carry it to its perfection. Christianity, in

its very essence and characteristics, is a religion of advancement, a promoter of free inquiry, wide investigation, and universal improvement. Its true ministers will accordingly dispense it with liberal and generous views, will show themselves the fast friends of liberty, reason, and knowledge, will be ready to go forward as leaders in all plans for improvement, and recommend their divine faith by connecting it with all projects for the progress of society and the exaltation of man. Here, as on the next, and many other points, we but glance at thoughts which are powerfully developed in the lecture.

The fourth point is, that Jesus adapted his religion to all the wants of human nature; and in this respect, also, his ministers must resemble him. Like him they must see, and sympathize with, and address themselves to, that deep fundamental want, existing in the very condition of man as a state of sinfulness; so as to call him forth from his wretchedness into purity and honor. Like him they must be bearers of a message, which shall carry comfort and peace to beings living in the midst of sorrow, infirmity, and suffering; which shall convey steadfastness of principle, energy of will, and perseverance of purpose, to beings irresolute, inconstant, and buffeted by perpetual temptations; which shall appeal to and win the affections of those who are creatures of feeling more than of mere intellect; which shall acknowledge and conform itself to the variety there is in the character and dispositions of men; and, finally, which shall treat them always and only as immortal beings, strayed away for a time from a gracious Father, but capable of being won back to heaven, and of entering a career of interminable and indescribable progress in excellence and bliss. It is one mark of the divinity of Jesus, that he sent forth a doctrine, capable of this close and effectual adaptation to all the wants of human nature, and to all the complicated and ever-shifting varieties of human condition. And he but poorly represents his divine Master, who does not apply it thus widely, and seek to bring its power to bear, for healing, consolation, and strength, upon all the diversities of human weakness, sorrow, and sin.

Such is, substantially, though with some varieties and great abridgment, the course of remark and illustration in Professor Cellérier's Lectures. The picture which they

contain of the character and office of the Christian minister is drawn with great strictness and truth, and with an energy, as well as discrimination, suited to the present state of the church. It is every way well worthy of our consideration, and we rejoice to have been able to present it, even in this imperfect copy, to the admiration and study of those whom it may concern to contemplate it. We are sure that neither the advanced minister, nor the inexperienced and diffident student, can give to it serious thought, without receiving some salutary suggestion, perhaps some quickening and invigorating impulse.

ART. V. — *On the Improvement of Society by the Diffusion of Knowledge: Or an Illustration of the Advantages which would result from a more general Dissemination of Rational and Scientific Information among all Ranks.* By THOMAS DICK, LL. D. [Family Library, Vol. LIX.] New York. J. & J. Harper. 1833.

THIS is a plain and sensible book, well fitted to sustain an interest in scientific pursuits. The writer is evidently master of his subject, and has the rare merit of fulfilling what he promises. In one respect, however, his work seems to us defective. He dwells hardly at all upon the importance of speculative knowledge. It is our purpose in this article to make some remarks upon this much abused branch of learning.

All understand the utility of scientific pursuits. They come home to our every-day interests. They are brought to bear upon our dearest concerns, upon our domestic comforts and sensual enjoyments. The language of Lord Brougham, though strong, is hardly extravagant. "In truth," says he, "though a man be neither merchant nor peasant, but only one having a pot to boil, he is sure to learn from science lessons, which will enable him to cook his morsel better, save his fuel, and both vary his dish and improve it." Hence scientific pursuits have become a leading object of the age. They are its glory and its boast. The zeal, with which they are cultivated, is in all respects just and commendable. It is neither misdirected nor extravagant.

But is there no danger in the way? Man is an intellectual, as well as a sensual being. He has intellectual, as well as physical wants, comforts, luxuries. The mind has objects of its own. Mental improvement is valuable for its own sake. But while constituted as we are; while cased up in this manifold envelope of flesh, and surrounded by this material universe, with which we have no other means of intercourse than through the senses; while our apparent good or bad fortune, the rank that we hold in society and our influence upon it, seem so intimately connected with what is visible and tangible, is there not danger that merely intellectual attainments will be undervalued or despised? We know that the body must have food, and shelter, and wherewithal to be clothed; but, that the mind, independently of the body, has wants as urgent and incomparably more important, is a truth upon which our attention seldom rests, and from which all our pursuits have a tendency to withdraw our thoughts. And as bad practice, when it does not proceed from bad principles, usually produces them, it is not uncommon among us, for men of excellent sense to sneer at subjects as useless and visionary, upon which more than upon any thing else the dignity and happiness of man depend. It would even seem as if those, who have been most active in the cause of improvement, through whose exertions popular education has become a leading feature of the times, have done something to encourage this error. The preference which they give to scientific pursuits, and the grounds on which that preference is given, have in no contemptible measure contributed to the mistake.

"What is the chief end of man?" is the first question of a catechism which we studied in childhood. It should be the ruling question of our lives. "What is the chief end of man?" We cannot so blaspheme our Maker as to reply that in any particular case, man's chief end is to make money, to be a mechanic, lawyer, merchant, or physician. Yet what else do we mean, when we shrewdly question the utility of speculative knowledge to an individual, because it is foreign to his profession? He is a *man*, and whatever tends to purify, exalt, and enlarge his mind; whatever widens the sphere of his rational pleasures, or extends his views of man, nature, God; whatever gives him new insight into the workings of his own heart, into the constitution of his own mind, into the

rights, duties, and privileges of man, is, in the highest sense of the word, useful to *him*, if not to his profession. Knowledge, truth is his natural aliment. Intellectual advancement is one great end of his existence. Though his studies make him neither a more useful nor a more enlightened citizen, still, if they open to him new mines of truth and new fields of knowledge, they accomplish a great and good work. Each man has duties which relate to himself alone, and he must never forget them. His mind has claims upon itself, which are superior to all other claims. He has a destiny of his own to fulfill. With these duties, these claims, and this destiny, no foreign power, public or private, has a right to interfere.

We sometimes talk of the destiny of nations and the interests of government, as if they had a soul of their own; and we sometimes speak of men as subordinate parts of the great community to which they belong, all living, and toiling, and dying for the advancement of the public welfare. But this is reversing the process of nature. "Government," as has been truly said, "is made for man, and not man for government." The destiny of nations, the interests of government, are mere rhetorical nonentities, if by them we would imply any thing more than the advancement of individual interest and the perfection of individual character. Government has no higher purpose than the improvement of individuals. The influence of individual pursuits upon government is by no means a just criterion of their merit. All pursuits all studies are to be estimated by their influence upon the character and condition of individuals. If poetry, for instance, refine and elevate the feelings, and supply an exhaustless fountain of enjoyment; if deep philosophical works strengthen the reasoning powers and assist the mind in comprehending the abstract truths of morals, government, and religion, and enable it to see more clearly and penetrate more deeply into itself, that complicated power, at once the agent, object, and instrument of inspection; — then poetry and philosophy have strong claims upon our notice, and that too, although their influence extend not beyond the particular minds upon which they directly act; although upon the daily pursuits of life, upon our daily intercourse with society, and upon the community at large, they have no influence whatever.

'Fortunately, however, no branch of knowledge, which acts

thus beneficially upon individual minds, is useless to the community. Whatever improves the character of the citizens, raises the character of the country, and lessens the difficulties of government.

Do we sufficiently bear this in mind? Are we not disposed to lay too much stress upon the external machinery of government, and to lose sight of the thousand secret springs, by whose unostentatious agency, the regular and consistent action of the whole is preserved? The outward institutions are indeed indispensable. The nice adjustment of laws and their skilful administration are of the utmost importance. It is right for us to boast of our free institutions, of the wise checks and counter-checks, which have been provided for our security. But these alone cannot save us. Reflect for a moment upon the threatening auspices with which the last year was introduced. Men, upon whose judgment and integrity we are accustomed to rely, told us, in accents of alarming eloquence, that a perilous crisis was at hand, that our institutions were tottering to their base; and our hearts sunk within us, as they painted in dark characters the dreadful storms, that were gathering. The danger is now over. We would take nothing from the just fame of those, who acted so conspicuous a part in calming the waves of public excitement. They are deserving of all praise. But shall we learn no lesson from the events of that period? Our present safety is incomparably more owing to the general good sense and virtue of the community, than to any public men or measures, or to any vital energy that may reside in the constitution itself. A kind Providence has not suffered the fate of a whole people to rest upon the character of a few public laws or rulers. Our weal or wo, Heaven be praised, rests upon principles of a deeper and more abiding character. So long as a sacred reverence for the truths of religion and morality is preserved, and sound learning receives the encouragement which it deserves, so long is our condition safe and prosperous. Political aspirants may tell us that our security and happiness depend upon the passage of this or that law, upon the election of this or that man. We cannot believe them. Our house is built upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Bad rulers and injudicious laws may injure, they cannot destroy it. No virtuous and enlightened nation has ever yet fallen a prey to a bad government, or to unprinci-

pled rulers. It was not because the Roman government was bad, and the senate corrupt, and Julius Cæsar ambitious; it was because the *people themselves* were corrupt, that Cæsar gained over them an influence so great, that (to paraphrase the strong language of a Roman poet) they would rather be driven to hell by his command than sent to heaven by the voice of an honest man. It was because public opinion was rotten, that his power was unlimited and their liberties lost.

All this is admitted. The influence of public opinion is generally understood. The manner in which popular education acts upon public opinion is also understood. We hear from all quarters, that government rests upon the virtue and intelligence of its citizens, and our free schools are confidently pointed to, as the main supports of free government. But do we equally well understand the importance of the higher institutions and the more extended systems of education, to which few can resort? Is it not a common complaint against them, that they are too theoretical? As to great works of philosophy, surely they are useless to the community at large; for how can they benefit those who never read them? The learned men too, whose lives are spent in studying out principles, and in preparing these profound works, are but dead weights upon society. The country is filled with practical men, and they want practical books, practical instructions. Theoretical knowledge is thrown away upon them. Why should the whole community unite in the support of literary institutions, to which not one man in five hundred can resort, and which deal out to the chosen few little else than theories, which the great mass of mankind cannot understand, and which they do not wish to understand? What interest has the public in preserving libraries, which are plainly of no use to a ten-thousandth part of the people?

Remarks like these are not uncommon. Perhaps they are the leading opinions of the very respectable classes, who call themselves practical men. But have they any foundation? Because books are theoretical, or read by few, does it follow that they are useful to few? Newton's great work is almost entirely theoretical, and so difficult, that probably there are not ten men in the United States able to read it. Yet it is certain, that hardly a man, woman, or child exists among us, that is not in consequence of this work better clad, fed, and lodged. It did not act with its full power at once.

No such production can. Its task is not yet finished. It opened a new era in natural science; and so long as science shall go on multiplying its improvements and its means of usefulness, so long will the influence of Newton's mind and Newton's works continue to bless the world.

More than this, "The genius of Newton himself," says a gifted philosopher, "was encouraged and led by the light of Bacon's philosophy." Yet Bacon's works are not merely theoretical, but a step farther removed from the pursuits of life. They are valuable chiefly for their rules of philosophizing; — for rules by which theoretical men may be guided in their studies. But who will set bounds to their influence? Who will say to what improvements they have led; or, rather, to what improvements they have not led; — improvements in science, in the structure of society, in the form of government, in every thing? It would be rash for us to assert, that had Bacon never lived, these improvements would never have taken place. What other instruments God's providence may have had in store, we know not. But this we do know, that, had it not been for Bacon and other kindred spirits, who followed and preceded him, the darkness of the middle ages, with worse than midnight gloom, would still overshadow the world. Even scholastic disputes in their scholastic jargon were not without their use. The contests between new truths and superannuated errors, however unwieldy the arms by which they were carried on, accomplished an important object. They taught men to think, they taught men the principles of reason, they taught men to distrust old prejudices, to try all things and hold fast that only which is good. And, think you, that men will learn to reason and decide justly and independently upon speculative subjects, and not carry the habits, which they thus acquire, of just and independent thought, into subjects, that have a direct bearing upon government and religion? Why did the pontifical power tremble upon her seven hills, when an obscure philospher, like Gallileo, saw fit to question the truth of some generally received opinions in natural philosophy? What had these opinions to do with the church? How was its welfare affected by such questions as these, whether a large and a small stone will fall through equal spaces in equal times, whether a flat substance will swim, while it sinks, if made square or round, whether the earth moves

round the sun or the sun round the earth? Surely these subjects had no connexion with the church. But ecclesiastical princes knew, that the same spirit, which led men to question the truth of philosophical opinions, would in time lead also to question the truth, and inquire into the grounds, of religious opinions. You may as well suppose the sun to shine upon all the fields of a country and yet leave the lakes in darkness, as suppose that an independent spirit of inquiry shall illumine merely speculative subjects, and leave the great truths of government, religion, and morals, in their primeval obscurity.

Look at the great reformations of society, whether in politics or religion. By what class of men were they brought about? Who gave the first impulse? Who first questioned the validity of old claims, and raised their voice against old oppressions? Who but those, who first taught men, that old speculative opinions were not always true? The rulers, both in church and state, were satisfied, that things should go on as they were. Practical men, engrossed with the business of life, were content to do and believe as their rulers directed. But ever and anon an inquisitive mind arose, a mind undisturbed and unoccupied by the noisy tumult of active life, which, in the depth of retirement, gave itself up to reflection, which was not content with the assertions of the world or the world's rulers, but which boldly, though silently, inquired, whether these things were so; which boldly inquired into the principles of belief, and applied, or taught others to apply, those principles to the ruling topics of the times. These thoughts were committed to writing; they fell into the hands of other contemplative men, who in turn added the product of their minds. Discussions arose. New minds were awakened. The spirit of inquiry was extended. And ere the members of the old dynasty, sleeping or revelling in their time-hallowed citadels, were aware of danger, the train was applied, the mine was sprung, and a deadly shock given to old prejudices and opinions.

In the history of the world, who are the men, to whom our minds almost instinctively turn as to the greatest benefactors of the human family? Who are the men, to whose works we at once recur, as to the stepping-stones, by which, in the progress of society, each age has raised itself above the

preceding, and whose works are still preserved, as proud monuments of human intellect? Call forth from the dusty tomes of former ages those, which have acted most powerfully upon the world in removing errors and raising the fabric of knowledge, which have done most to shed light upon mankind and lead them in the way of truth and virtue; call forth the divines, who have been most active and successful in freeing religion from its corruption, and enforcing its truths in their original power and purity, who have made religion a living agent in the reformation of the world; call forth those, who have done most for the regeneration of society by their influence upon government, whether directly, by the laws they framed, or indirectly, by the principles they taught; call forth, from whatever quarter you please, those who have done most to improve the condition of man; and of what will your congregation be composed? We hesitate not to answer, that it will be composed entirely of men, whose minds were conversant with abstract, theoretical truths. Not but that other men are useful; not but that other men have a part in the work. The followers of Socrates and Aristotle and Plato diffused the doctrines which their masters taught. Alexander, by his arms, widened the immediate empire of his instructer's mind. The prominent actors in the contests, which have attended most important reformations, and convulsed the world with their throes, have seldom been men of philosophical minds. Yet they were not the prime movers of the work. They were but agents or instruments. Their usefulness depended upon their teachers, and died with the occasions which gave it birth. But the works of their masters, and the truths which they contain, are confined to no time or place or occasion. Their country is wherever a human being resides; their time extends to that unknown period, when man shall cease to dwell on this globe. Their influence depends not upon the existence of the books they wrote. The torch, which first lighted the dark places of the world, may cease to shine; but the fires which it kindled will, in endless succession, guide and cheer and warm the human race.

It is not easy to see the influence of philosophy upon society. To the superficial eye, Roger Bacon, Francis Bacon, Hugo Grotius, Erasmus, Milton, Newton, and Locke

have little connexion with the history of their times. They appear, like the helmsman of a ship, quiet spectators of the important events that were going on around them, and if, perchance, they have at any time been drawn into the whirl of political commotions, and subject to political persecutions, we can hardly see what there was in their situation or character to attract the notice of government. Mostly poor, without family, taking no active part in the events, which most engrossed the minds of rulers, they seem hardly to have belonged to the times in which their lot was cast. And, therefore, while blustering actors distract our attention, these men go quietly to their graves, and we are disposed to let their ashes remain there undisturbed.

Our Saviour emphatically declared, on the day of his crucifixion, that his kingdom was not of this world. With something of the same solemnity may most of the great benefactors of our race exclaim, — "Our kingdom is not of this age," and, in the pathetic words of Bacon's last will, they may "bequeath their name to posterity after some generations shall be passed;" for not till then is their power duly felt. "Leibnitz the jurist," says Dugald Stewart, "belongs to one age, and Leibnitz the philosopher to another." With still greater force may the remark be made of Bacon. His political influence belonged to the age in which he lived, and was perhaps confined to that age; his philosophical works were left "to posterity after some generations should be passed." When he had gone to the grave, and his political ambition was buried with him, and the good or bad influence of his political measures had ceased, then his philosophical speculations began to engage the attention, at first of a few, and then of a larger and a larger number, until at length they have changed the whole aspect of society. When the man was gone and the politician forgotten, the philosopher began his career, which shall never end. Bacon stood alone. He has been followed by a host. Their united influence we may explain; to investigate their separate power would require more skill, than often falls to the lot of man.

The gifted minds of one age add to the discoveries of those who have gone before; and though new errors, as well as new truths, are introduced, and old truths, as well as old errors, are forgotten, still the right of inquiry, and the spirit

of inquiry are preserved; and should the advance be small, the action, by which the mind lives and thrives, is cherished.

Allowing that systems of philosophy are as perfect now as they ever will be, would it follow, that there is no need of any other scholars, than of those who would tamely take the doctrines, which are ready made to their hands, and dogmatically teach them to the rising generations as truths upon which no improvements could be made? Suppose that the Divine Being had made a revelation, containing all the truths which man should know, and all so simplified as to gain assent the moment they reach the mind; what could be better fitted to put to sleep the active powers of thought, upon which the efficacy of even divine truths in no small measure depends? We were not made to be the passive recipients of knowledge. Our minds must be exercised. Their strength depends upon action. The whole system of nature is formed to rouse and stimulate their powers of action.

But philosophical truths do not revolve in a circle. The present is not an exact transcript of any past age. We believe that human improvement is indefinite, that no almighty fiat has set limits to its progress. If the great intellects of our race are devoted, heart and soul, to the investigation of the truths of morals and religion, each succession of inquirers taking advantage of the lights struck out by their predecessors, we believe that no bounds can be fixed to their advancement. Much as we admire old authors and old books, we cannot assent to the truth of the passage from Chaucer, which has been so happily employed as a motto to "The Retrospective Review," and, more recently, to the specimens of "Old English Writers," republished in our own country.

> "Out of the olde fields, as men saithe,
> Cometh all this new corn fro yere to yere;
> And out of olde books in good faithe,
> Cometh all this new science, that men lere."

It is a happy conceit, but a mistaken thought. Books are not the fields of knowledge; they are but the storehouses. The field is the universe of mind and matter, the universe with its infinity of powers, combinations, and agencies; and when men shall leave their fields uncultivated, and, for their future support, rely solely upon what they have already har-

vested, then may they believe that the stores of knowledge, already provided, will be adequate to all future emergencies.

Each age has wants peculiar to itself. Its intellectual character is moulded by the great men of the preceding age. Such has been the fact. It is no longer so. The innumerable channels of popular instruction, the great universities, which every year send out recruits of disciples to spread abroad the newest discoveries, the halls of legislation, the pulpit, the lecture-room, the school-house, books, popular journals, newspapers, are among the countless agents, which bring all parts of the community into close communion with the great men of the time, and which make them, in some respects, the guides of their own age. This gives to them an advantage which no former times allowed. He who labors without the hope, that his works will be extensively read before the lapse of a century, can be but imperfectly acquainted with the peculiar errors, which he is to combat. But now the channels of communication between his closet and the great world are so numerous, that a man of extraordinary powers may tincture the spirit, give a tone to the character, and a direction to the pursuits of his own age, not only among professed philosophers, but even among those who are but children in learning. The prevailing cast of the popular reading, the character of the popular literature, the poetry, novels, and public journals may all be more or less affected by the abstract speculations of his closet.

And here is an exercise of power, which, in point of moral sublimity, has hardly its equal among men. We have been moved by the recital of battles, where the fate of nations hung upon the conduct of one man. We have been held in breathless wonder, while dwelling upon the career of that extraordinary personage of our own times, at whom kings "gazed, and trembled while they gazed," before whom thrones crumbled into dust, empires vanished, and the time-worn landmarks of nations disappeared. The celerity of his movements, the promptness and boldness of his decrees, their daring insolence, and the energy with which they were enforced, have sometimes produced a feeling, as if he were clothed with a power beyond the power of man. But his influence was confined to the external institutions of society. It did not reach the heart and soul. And the noise

and parade, the pomp and circumstance, attendant upon his actions and movements, have no small share in our admiration.

But the philosopher, who, from the solitude of his closet, forms the character of his age, who, without the intervention of foreign powers, without parade or violence, directs the general mind, and exercises an influence over its secret thoughts and feelings, who impresses upon the world the distinctive traits of his own spirit, who makes his thoughts their thoughts, and his reflections their reflections, has a power incomparably greater than that of any monarch, statesman, or conqueror, that ever blessed or cursed mankind. An inexpressible sublimity is attached to his quiet greatness, to the viewless, but irresistible decrees of his mind, which go forth, like the winged messengers of God, to accomplish their great designs, to purify, exalt, instruct the world. In solitude he may be; but

> with such thoughts
> Accompanied of things past and to come
> Lodged in his breast, as well might recommend
> Such solitude before choicest society.

Alone, but leaning upon the Almighty for support, with his own high thoughts and lofty contemplations and glowing images for companions, what to him is the world, with its noise and dust, its adventitious distinctions, its fading glories, its political broils, its wars, and its commotions? Thrones, dominations, powers, to which conquerors look up with wistful eyes, lie immeasurably beneath him. The scope of all *their* actions, hopes, desires, is limited to earth. The admiration, which *their* characters produce, is confined to this narrow globe and the narrow bounds of our mortal existence. But the sphere of *his* action is the universe. The time, which bounds his hopes and desires, is eternity. In the contemplation of his character, there is nothing to drag down the spirit from its ethereal height. Our souls swell with those holy emotions, which alone can cleanse them from the impurities of life; they are endowed with that spiritual liberty, which alone can make them free, with that reliance upon their own powers, which, when united with unshrinking confidence in God, can alone bestow the dignity, the independence, which become rational, undying, and religious beings.

Legislators are men of action; but there are principles by which their actions should be regulated, upon which their laws should be founded. These principles, their nature, importance, and mutual dependence, are to be traced out by men of retirement and reflection. In his secluded mine, the philosopher is to prepare and refine the ore, which the politician may afterwards fit for his particular object, and apply to his particular purpose. The two characters must, in some measure, be united. But he, who is continually employed in the turmoil of public life, can seldom find time to engage in the discovery of recondite truths. He can examine and select from those which are ready-furnished by speculative men.

Exalted principles of morality cannot be too strongly recommended to a people by the measures, the reasoning, the actions of public men. Public measures must not only be just in themselves, they must be based upon reasons and maxims of justice; and these reasons and maxims, however simple when found, are to be set forth by men, whose lives, free from the whirling storms of life, are consecrated to thought. Difficult though it may be, to trace to their particular sources the general maxims current in society, and which, for our weal or woe, more or less influence our every-day conduct and our every-day thoughts, we may rest assured, that, if society is pure, they are first put in motion by a few master-spirits, and, afterwards, being moulded, modified, and simplified by thinking minds of an inferior order, so as to be adapted to the various classes of men, they are handed down from one grade of intellect to another, until at length everybody possesses them, everybody acts upon them, and everybody's happiness or misery is affected by them. So true it is, that, in a well-organized society, those who think must govern those who do not think. And it is the glory of a free government, that it is so. "Go," said an experienced sage to his son, "and see by how little wisdom the world is governed;" little indeed, if we were governed solely by the public men whom we place over us, and doubtful would be our destiny. But they are not our rulers. The thinking men in the state, whether in office or not, exercise a government a thousand times more powerful and beneficent. Our characters have been modelled by the current opinions of the day; and these opinions have been drawn from the

storehouses of profound minds, and thrown into circulation by learned men.

It is just as necessary in the great structure of society, that there should be certain generally received maxims and opinions, as, in the commercial community, that there should be a quantity of money in circulation. The business of society could no more be conducted without the one, than the business of commerce without the other. Counterfeit money is sometimes introduced, and so far as it gets into use, so far it deranges commercial operations. Counterfeit maxims are often introduced, and so far as they get into use, so far do they derange the affairs of society.

Still further. How does the commercial community keep in the market a sufficient supply of money, and prevent its adulteration? By mints and banking establishments, subject to the supervision of responsible men. But how is society supplied with maxims and opinions, which may be denominated the moral circulating medium, and how are adulteration and forgery to be prevented here? For we may be sure, that the evil passions of men are quite as much interested in corrupting the generous sentiments and just principles of society, as any class of depraved wretches can be in passing off forged bills and adulterated coins. By whom can the evil be prevented? By high-minded, moral, deep-thinking men, in whom sound opinions may originate, by whom sound opinions may be disseminated, and false opinions detected. When men of wealth and men of fashion and men high in political office sneer at what they are pleased to term dull plodders in knowledge; when they treat with contemptuous neglect men, whose lives are devoted to learning and religion; when they jest upon the awkwardness, the poverty, or the oddity of men, whose days and nights of pain and toil have been passed in the silent recesses of thought, and who have given up their souls to meditation upon truths, which the world knows not of, but of which it is yet to enjoy the happy effects; little do they think that they are doing all in their power to annihilate a class of men, without whom a well organized society could not exist; that they are doing their utmost to destroy the very men, who give security to property, refinement to taste, and stability to government. For upon what do these things depend? Upon a sound public opinion. Without

this, laws are but cobwebs, and government a vain thing. But what is public opinion? It is neither more nor less than the *moral currency* which we have described; nothing more or less than the opinions, maxims, and feelings, which are prevalent in society, and which owe their existence and their healthy state to the deep research and careful supervision of profound thinkers. Once remove these censors, and we have no security against public and private corruption.

No where on earth is the influence of reason what it should be. Men's prejudices, their passions, and their narrow views of utility are so many enemies to the progress of truth. There are four states of society, in which deep thought has little power. Among savages every thing is crude, though, if we may trust to elder bards, the first dawn of civilization is marked by philosophical inquiries respecting the nature of things, the origin, duties, and destiny of man. In a despotic government free inquiry is fettered. In a wild democracy there are no opinions; what is right to day is wrong to-morrow; and all principles, whether right or wrong, are received or rejected according to the caprice or passion of the multitude. To this our political idolatry would lead, and into this uncertain and fluctuating state of opinions should we be thrown, if governed by those, who, for theoretical principles, would substitute practical rules. Finally, the worst of all conditions is a notoriously corrupt state of society, where men have ceased to justify their actions to themselves. All civilized countries tend to this, and can be preserved from it only by the united efforts of the great and good. The disorganizing elements, ambition, gain, luxury, and vice in all its forms, must be promptly met and resisted by the united powers of learning, virtue, and religion.

ART. VI. — *Memoir and Correspondence of the late* SIR JAMES EDWARD SMITH, M. D., Fellow of the Royal Society of London; Member of the Academies of Stockholm, Upsal, Turin, Lisbon, Philadelphia, New York, &c. &c., and President of the Linnæan Society. Edited by LADY SMITH. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1832.

A little too much has been made of this Correspondence. Still we join with the Editors of "The Select Journal" in recommending the publication of a judicious abridgment of it in this country. Meanwhile we must not let the opportunity pass without making our readers more fully acquainted with the truly estimable character of the man, and the moral and religious influences under which it was formed. At a time when there is so much real or affected skepticism among would-be naturalists and philosophers, it is well to hold up the example of one who stood for many years at the very head of an important department of science, without allowing the study of nature to unsettle his confidence in revelation, or the most liberal and rational sentiments on all subjects to abate the warmth of his devotional feelings, or the voice of numbers, the reproach of heresy, or the tempting offers of worldly advancement, to corrupt him from the simplicity that is in Christ.*

Sir James Edward Smith was born in the city of Norwich, December 2, 1759. He was the oldest of seven children, and for almost five years an only child. His father, Mr. James Smith, was a dealer in the woollen trade, of respectable connexions and easy in his circumstances, and of a naturally strong understanding, much cultivated and enlarged by reading and a habit of thinking for himself on all subjects. This is evinced in extracts which are given from his Common-Place Book, containing criticisms on English and

* Besides the Memoir and Correspondence of Sir James, edited by his accomplished Lady, we have had before us, in collecting these notices, the brief but authentic and interesting account of him, published in "The Monthly Repository," Vol. II. pp. 347 - 351, New Series; and his Life, in the "Annual Biography," Vol. XIII. pp. 301 - 318, being the same, with a few corrections and additions, that first appeared in "The Philosophical Magazine." These, it is believed, are all the important original authorities.

French authors, as well as in his letters, which form an interesting and valuable part of the Correspondence, and show him to have been one of the wisest and kindest of parents. He was a staunch Whig and Protestant Dissenter, and belonged to the congregation worshipping in the Octagon Chapel in Norwich, Unitarian from its first erection in 1756. Here it was that Mr. Smith, as well as his son, along with the Taylors, the Martineaus, and other well-known Unitarian families, imbibed that love of civil and religious liberty, and those devotional and philanthropic sentiments, by which they have always been distinguished. Sir James's mother, Frances Kinderley, was the daughter of a clergyman of an ancient and once opulent family in the north of England, remarkable for the sweetness and generosity of his temper and his eccentricities. This lady lived to the advanced age of eighty-eight, and will long be remembered by a numerous circle of friends and relatives, for her benevolence, cheerfulness, and activity, and for her winning, unaffected piety, unalloyed by the smallest mixture of gloom or uncharitableness. To the last year of his existence, Sir James often expressed his obligations to both his parents for the free action his mind acquired, from their encouragement not to follow any received opinion blindly and implicitly, but to dare to think for himself, and stand alone.

This encouragement was the more necessary in his case, from the circumstance, that his character in childhood was marked by a natural timidity, a diffidence amounting to a degree often painfully embarrassing, and which was never so obliterated from his remembrance, but that at times he would recur, in conversation, to events in early life, when for a word or almost a thought, which struck him as wrong, he experienced the pangs of a broken and contrite spirit. It was on account of a constitutional delicacy of spirits, as well as of health, that he was never sent to a public school, but was attended at home by the best masters which his native city afforded, and under their tuition he acquired a competent knowledge of the French and Italian languages, and of the rudiments of the Latin. But the best part of his education was derived from the society of his well-informed, sensible parents, and from reading and conversation in the domestic circle, by which the heart as well as the understanding was instructed and enlarged. Under these in-

fluences he grew up, and on the basis of extreme delicacy and sensitiveness of soul, by the aid of judicious culture and religious principle, a moral courage and a noble independence of character were reared, by which he became distinguished, in after life, almost as much as for his amiable and affectionate disposition.

Botany, "the amiable science," as it has been called, was the study for such a mind, and his early predilection for it, and the difficulties and encouragements he met with, are often mentioned in his writings. In one of his introductory lectures before the Royal Institution, he observes:

"From the earliest period of my recollection, when I can just remember tugging ineffectually with all my infant strength at the tough stalks of the Wild Succory on the chalky hillocks about Norwich, I have found the study of Nature an increasing source of unalloyed pleasure, and a consolation and refuge under every pain. Long destined to other pursuits, and directed to other studies, thought more advantageous or necessary, I could often snatch but a few moments for this favorite object. Unassisted by advice, unacquainted with books, I wandered long in the dark; till some of the principal elementary works, the publications of Lee, Rose, Stillingfleet, and a few others, came in my way, and were devoured over and over again. This kind of botanical education has the advantages of the necessary drudgery of a grammar-school; it trains the mind to labor, it fixes principles and facts and terms and names, never to be forgotten. At length, however, I found I wanted something more, to apply to practice what had thus been acquired. I was then furnished with systematic books, and introduced to Mr. Rose, whose writings had long been my guide. I was shown the works of Linnæus; nor shall I ever forget the feelings of wonder excited by finding his whole system of animals, vegetables, and minerals, comprised in three octavo volumes. I had seen a fine quarto volume of Buffon, on the Horse alone. I expected to find the systematical works of Linnæus constituting a whole library; but they proved almost capable of being put, like the Iliad, into a nutshell. Hence a new world was opened to me. I found myself moreover in the centre of a school of botanists. Ever since the Spanish tyranny and folly had driven commerce and ingenuity from Flanders, to take refuge in Britain, a taste for flowers had subsisted in my native county along with them. Our weavers, like those of Spitalfields, have from time immemorial been florists, and many of them most excellent culti-

vators; their necessary occupations and these amusements were peculiarly compatible. And it is well worthy of remark, that those elegant and virtuous dispositions, which can relish the beauties of nature, are no less strictly in unison with that purity of moral and religious taste which drove the founders of our Worsted manufactory from foul and debasing tyranny to the abode of light and peace and liberty." — Vol. I. pp. 323 – 325.

In the autumn of 1781, he repaired to Edinburgh to finish his education at the University, with a view to the study of medicine. Here he passed two years, and found warm and kind friends, as he did everywhere, and in friendship a pure enjoyment. His proficiency in other branches of knowledge appears to have been respectable only, but in his favorite science he soon distanced every competitor, and carried off all the honors. To his mother, soon after his establishment in the northern metropolis, he expresses himself thus:

"My happiness, honored Madam, in my present situation, is completed by your expressing so much happiness in my prospects, as well as my father. I cannot help considering it, as you say, peculiarly directed by the Almighty, and therefore I recur immediately to him when any gloomy ideas present themselves; as I hope I have the most perfect confidence in him, and trust he will preserve us all to be a blessing to each other. But if he thinks fit to separate us, I hope we could acquiesce; and we know that not a single kind thought can ever be lost, or lose its reward. I have met with a number of young play-fellows, as you said I should. The children of Dr. Duncan are very pretty, and remarkably sensible; and here are a sweet little boy and girl, the children of Dr. Adam, whom I often play with. Mrs. Adam is a very beautiful, polite woman, and the children in perfect order; the little lass told her mamma I was 'a bonny man.' 'Ay,' says her brother, 'and a good man, too!'" — Vol. I. p. 39.

In a letter to his father, written about the same time, he says:

"It is accidental my not having mentioned Dr. Hutton; he is one of my best and most agreeable acquaintances, a man of the most astonishing penetration and remarkable clearness of intellects, with the greatest good humor and frankness; in short, I cannot discover in what his oddity (of which I heard so much) consists. He is a bachelor, and lives with three

maiden sisters; so you may be sure the house and every thing about it is in the nicest order. I step in when I like, and drink tea with them; and the Doctor and I sometimes walk together. He is an excellent mineralogist, and is very communicative, very clear, and of a candid, though quick temper; in short, I am quite charmed with him. He has a noble collection of fossils, which he likes to show: — by the way, I do not mean to prosecute this study any further than is necessary and proper for me to be acquainted with; it requires infinite attention and labor, and there are few certain conclusions to be found. I shall endeavour to get a general knowledge of every branch of literature as it falls in my way; but believe I shall find enough to employ me in the strict line of my profession, with the two first kingdoms of nature by way of relaxation; for I am fully persuaded, that an intimate acquaintance with these is not only peculiarly ornamental, but highly necessary, to form an accomplished physician, as literature now stands; and am sure the benefit I have derived, wherever I have been, and am continually deriving, from the little knowledge of this kind which I am possessed of, is greater than could have been imagined, — I mean with respect to introducing me to the literary world; for if I had been without such an introduction, I might have drudged here perhaps a couple of years before I could have done any thing to have signalized myself, or have been taken half the notice of which I now am." — Vol. I. pp. 45, 46.

Again he writes to a friend of his own age, with whom he had contracted the closest intimacy:

"It is a most discouraging thing to a young man entering into life, — his heart, without reserve or suspicion, overflowing with the 'milk of human kindness,' — to be told by those who have gone before him, that his ideas of friendship, love, honor, are merely romantic, and not to be realized in a commerce with the world; that there, self-interest, ambition, avarice, and lust, reign with absolute sway; that those feelings, which (if he be not a villain) have chiefly contributed to his happiness hitherto, must now be restrained by prudence, and be perfectly obedient to the dictates of interest and worldly advantage. They tell him, that now

'The wild romance of life is done;
Its real history is begun.'

"I would fain hope this is exaggerated: not that I would by any means reject the use of due caution and prudence in *forming friendships*. I am perfectly convinced, that on this

depends the existence of those very feelings; and perhaps the persons who compose most of the worthlessness of the world, are those who, for want of this *proper* care, have had their dearest hopes and expectations deceive them. Let us, therefore, when we hear these complaints, carefully consider from whom they come; whether from such an one as I have just mentioned, or from a person, who, having sacrificed his own feelings to interest, wishes to reduce all mankind to the same level; or from one of a fretful, peevish temper, who expects too much from others, far more than he will grant them in his turn; or, lastly, from one who has naturally no feeling at all.

"I trust there is more virtue in the world than we are generally told of. Those lovely dispositions that glow in the youthful heart, may perhaps be generally in some degree concealed, by various means, amid the busy pursuits of active life, and sometimes may be clouded by a degree of ambition or self-interest. But in the decline of life we see the social feelings revive: then old friendships are renewed; children are doated on; a thousand little offices of love are mutually performed; and I confess I do not know an object of more respect and admiration, instead of contempt and ridicule, than an old person taking pleasure in recollecting and relating the scenes of his past pleasures, and cherishing every idea of his former friends. I have indulged myself in a little prolixity on this subject; but I hope you will excuse it, as I trust it is an interesting one to both of us. Nor am I afraid you should be severe in your criticisms on what I have said."—Vol. I. pp. 75–77.

From Edinburgh our young naturalist went up to London, still bent on pursuing and completing his medical studies, and anxious to avail himself, for this purpose, of the advantages to be derived from visiting the hospitals, and attending the lectures of the celebrated Dr. John Hunter. Here again he made many valuable acquaintances, and particularly, as might have been expected from his favorite tastes and pursuits, that of Sir Joseph Banks; to his connexion with whom, an incident is to be referred, which did more perhaps, than all other causes put together, to shape his course and lay the foundation of his future eminence. We give it in the words of his biographer.

"Upon the demise of young Linnæus, Dr. Acrel, Professor of Medicine at Upsal, had written to Dr. Engelhart, who was then in London, offering the whole collection of books, manuscripts, and natural history, to Sir Joseph Banks, for the sum

of 1000 guineas. 'It happened,' adds Sir James, 'that I breakfasted with Sir Joseph upon the day the letter arrived, which was the 23d of December, 1783; and he told me of the offer he had, saying he should decline it; and, handing me the letter to read, advised me strongly to make the purchase, as a thing suitable to my taste, and which would do me honor.' Being thus encouraged by Sir Joseph, he went immediately to Dr. Engelhart, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Edinburgh, and made his desire known to him; and they both wrote the same day to Professor Acrel, Dr. Engelhart to recommend his friend, and the other desiring a catalogue of the whole collection, and telling him if it answered his expectations, he would be the purchaser at the price fixed." — Vol. I. p. 92.

A writer in "The Monthly Repository" says: "The sale was precipitated before the return of the king of Sweden, then on his travels, lest he should oblige the heirs to dispose of the whole, at a cheaper rate, to the University at Upsal. This would actually have been the case, as appears from the exertions made by his Majesty, who, on his return, sent a courier to the Sound, and a swift-sailing vessel to intercept the ship which was bearing away the prize." * Higher offers had also been made, to tempt the heirs to break off the treaty, and, among the rest, an unlimited sum by a Russian nobleman; and Sir James appears to have owed it to the scrupulous honor of the negotiator, Professor Acrel, that he succeeded at last in obtaining the inestimable treasure at the stipulated charge. The packages were safely landed at the custom-house in October, 1784.

"Sir James's first idea," says his lady, "was to deposit his purchase in some spare rooms in the British Museum; but he found some objections to the scheme, and preferred taking a house, that it might be safer, and more accessible to himself and his friends. He therefore hired apartments in Paradise-row, Chelsea, whither it was immediately conveyed; and often has he recurred with great pleasure to the first winter after its arrival, when, with Sir J. Banks and Mr. Dryander, they examined the herbarium minutely, and carefully unpacked and arranged the whole collection.

"With no premeditated design of relinquishing physic as a profession, yet from this hour he devoted his time and all the

* New Series, Vol. II. p. 347.

powers of his mind to the object for which he had hazarded so much; nor was there ever a period, in his subsequent life, of misgiving or regret, that he had made a wrong choice; neither was his love of botany pursued to the exclusion of other literature or lighter pleasures; but it was the charm of his existence, always at hand ready to take up, always leading the mind forward, and filling his hours with satisfaction." — Vol. I. pp. 127, 128.

On the 28th of May following, Sir James acquaints his father, that "he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society on Thursday, without a single black ball"; and adds, "I paid my money, £32 11*s.*, and took my seat the same evening: my success was indeed very flattering, and I believe gave my good friend the President [Sir Joseph Banks] great pleasure."

In the summer of 1786 he visited the continent, his immediate object being to obtain a medical degree at Leyden. Having done this, he quitted Holland, and spent the rest of that year, and most of the next, in France, Switzerland, and Italy, making the natural history of those countries his principal study, but not neglecting other objects of attention likely to interest a traveller. His habits of careful observation, his taste in the fine arts, his enthusiasm in the description of Alpine scenery, his liberal feelings and opinions, in regard to national or sectarian differences, are as conspicuous in his private letters, written home to his friends, as in the Sketch of his Tour, published some time after his return.

"Hearing," he writes to one of his female correspondents, "that the widow of Rousseau was living at a place not far out of our road to Paris, and that many strangers visited her, we felt a strong desire to do the same; but had some fears lest we should discover something in her which might excite disagreeable sensations, and even perhaps lessen our veneration for her husband; for we heard that she had been his servant, and after having lived with him in that capacity ten years, he said to her, '*Ma bonne amie*, I am satisfied with your fidelity, and wish I could make you an adequate return. I have nothing to give you but my hand. If you think that worth having, it is yours.' They were married; and lived together sixteen years afterwards very comfortably. She was several years younger than her husband. At last curiosity prevailed, and we went to see her. She received us with the greatest politeness, and ap-

peared much pleased with our visit; spoke in the most becoming manner of her husband, and readily answered every question I put to her. What I principally learned from her was as follows: — The character of Julia was drawn from Madame Bois de la Tour of Lyons, a lady still living, with whom Mr. and Mrs. Rousseau often spent a great deal of time: she has a large family, and is the admiration of all who know her. The story of Julia has not, however, any connexion with hers. How far that is founded in truth, Mrs. Rousseau said, was only known to its author. The idea that Ermenonville was the scene of it, or that the real father of Julia lived there, is without foundation. She assured me, that the 'Confessions' of Rousseau were really all of his own writing. She confided the manuscript to the Marquis de Girardin, who expunged several names and anecdotes relating to people still living, but against her consent; for she thought the whole ought to have been published as the author left it. I think more ought to have been expunged, at least the name of Madame de Warens ought to have been kept secret." — Vol. I. pp. 180, 181.

It was the freedom of his remarks on Rousseau in the Tour, which gave great offence at its first appearance, and lost him the favor of the queen, owing probably, in a great measure, to the suspicion and alarm with which the recent atrocities of the French revolution had filled the public mind:

"With respect," he says, "to the character of Rousseau, about which the opinion of the world is so much divided, I have found it improve on a near examination. Every one who knew him, speaks of him with the most affectionate esteem, as the most friendly, unaffected, and modest of men, and the most unassuming in conversation. Enthusiastically fond of the study of Nature, and of Linnæus as the best interpreter of her works, he was always warmly attached to those who agreed with him in this taste. The amiable and accomplished lady,* to whom his letters on Botany were addressed, concurs in this account, and holds his memory in the highest veneration. I have ventured to ask her opinion upon some unaccountable actions in his life, and especially about those misanthropic horrors and suspicions which embittered his latter days. She seemed to think the last not entirely groundless; but still, for the most part, to be attributed to a something not quite right in his mind, for which he was to be pitied, not censured. Her charming

* Madame de Lessert.

daughter showed me a collection of dried plants, made and presented to her by Rousseau, neatly pasted on small writing-paper, and accompanied with their Linnæan names and other particulars.

"Botany seems to have been his most favorite amusement in the latter part of life; and his feelings, with respect to this pursuit, are expressed with that energy and grace so peculiarly his own, in his letter to Linnæus, the original of which I preserve as an inestimable relic. I need offer no apology to the candid and well-informed reader for this minuteness of anecdote concerning so celebrated a character. Those who have only partial notions of Rousseau, may perhaps wonder to hear that his memory is cherished by any well-disposed minds. To such I beg leave to observe, that I hold in a very subordinate light that beauty of style and language, those golden passages, which will immortalize his writings; and a faint resemblance of which is the only merit of some of his enemies. I respect him as a writer eminently favorable, on the whole, to the interests of humanity, reason, and religion. Wherever he goes counter to any of these, I as freely dissent from him; but do not, on that account, throw all his works into the fire. As the best and most religious persons of my acquaintance are among his warmest admirers, I may perhaps be biassed in my judgment; but it is certainly more amiable to be misled by the fair parts of a character, than to make its imperfections a pretence for not admiring or profiting by its beauties." *

On this subject, Mr. Smith, the father, writes to Sir James as follows:

"I cannot alter my opinion of the man. I think him a heterogeneous composition of great vices, and fewer virtues, but of a sublime genius, and a penetrating faculty into the human heart, that no writer has developed with so much perspicuity and ingenuity. He carries you to the bottom of it, and will not leave you till he has made you thoroughly persuaded you understand it yourself. His descriptions are amazingly strong. Sterne had him certainly in view, but he is so minute as to leave nothing to the reader's imagination, and puts one in mind of the labored exactness of the Flemish painters. Rousseau's pictures have infinitely more force, by not making each trait so very distinct. Moore says, 'All dress was meant for fancy's aid.' Rousseau's own religion is somewhat equivocal. It is Julia's pleases me. Her character is inimitable, and her

* Sketches of a Tour on the Continent. — Vol. I. p. 110.

last moments are the most pious, the most rational, and the most touching surely ever drawn by pen." —Vol. I. pp. 356, 357.

Soon after his return to England, he removed from Chelsea to Great Marlborough Street, professedly with a view to begin his medical career in London. Natural history, however, and botany in particular, continued to occupy his attention almost exclusively; and one of the next public undertakings, in which we find him engaged, was the institution of the Linnæan Society, of which he was chosen the first President, an honorable appointment, which he held by successive annual reëlections, until his death. Alluding, in his inaugural discourse, to the Linnæan collections, he says: "I consider myself as a trustee of the public, and hold these treasures only for the purpose of making them useful to the world and natural history in general, and particularly to this Society, of which I glory in having contributed to lay the foundation, and to the service of which I shall joyfully consecrate my labors, so long as it continues to answer the purposes for which it is designed." From this period Sir James gave lectures on botany, first at his own house, and afterwards before various public institutions in London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, and other places, and with great and increasing success and reputation.

"When his health was good, the occupation was one he enjoyed. He arranged previously the heads of his lecture; but for words he always trusted to the ideas which arose in his mind while he was delivering it, and in general he exceeded the allotted time, and had more to say than could be compressed into the space of an hour. A printed abstract of the subject he intended to discourse upon was not omitted, for the convenience of himself and his auditors; and of these sketches he composed a great variety, as the succession of his courses required. Of one of these Dr. Goodenough, in the year 1795, tells him, 'I am quite charmed with your Syllabus. I would advise you, *while you are a lecturer* (do not defer it till you have given up, it will not be half so well done), to draw out all that matter at full length, and publish it as suits you; it would be another *Philosophia Botanica* in a fashionable dress.'" —Vol. I. p. 532.

In 1796 he married the only daughter of Robert Reeve, Esq. of Lowestoft, in Suffolk; and in the following year he

removed to Norwich, his native place, where he continued to reside, paying occasional visits to London, for the remainder of his life. During his absence he had visited foreign countries, formed many friendships, moved in the highest circles, and acquired fame and distinction. "Yet," to borrow the words of his biographer in "The Monthly Repository," "he came, unspoiled by honors and uncorrupted by travel, to sit down among the friends of his youth; willing to give and to receive pleasure from the most attainable and simple objects. Once more he took his station in the temple where his earliest worship had been paid; surrounded by those who had joined him in early life; and there he continued to appear, with few interruptions but such as were unavoidable, till within the last Sunday but one preceding his dissolution." "He never appeared happier," the same writer adds, "than when surrounded by young people, for whom he readily unlocked his cabinet and displayed his mental stores, imparting knowledge in the most familiar and captivating manner. Even in the sports and pastimes of his young guests he took so lively an interest, that they could scarcely believe he was less fond of play than themselves. In all his deeds of kindness he was fully seconded by one, who may with truth be said to have made his chosen friends her own, and to have strengthened the bonds of amity in which she found him held."

Of Sir James's numerous and valuable scientific publications, it does not belong to our present purpose to speak.*

* Their titles are as follows: 1. Reflections on the Study of Nature. A Translation. 1785. 2. A Dissertation on the Sexes of Plants. A Translation. 1786. 3. Thesis de Generatione. 1786. 4. Reliquiæ Rudbeckianæ. 1789. 5. Plantarum Icones. 1789. 6. Icones Pictæ. 1790. 7. English Botany. 36 vols. 8vo. 1790–1814. 8. Spicilegium Botanicum. 1791. 9. Caroli Linnæi Flora Lapponica. Edited, 1791. 10. Botany of New Holland. 1793. 11. Tour on the Continent. 3 vols. 8vo. 1793. 12. Syllabus of Lectures. 1795. 13. Insects of Georgia. 2 vols. fol. 1797. 14. Tracts on Natural History. 1798. 15. Flora Britannica. 3 vols. 8vo. Completed in 1804. 16. Compendium Floræ Britannicæ. 1800. 17. Flora Græca. 6 vols. fol. Left incomplete. 18. Prodromus Floræ Græcæ. 2 vols. 8vo. 1806–1813. 19. Exotic Botany. 2 vols. 4to. 1804. 20. Introduction to Botany. 1807. 21. Botanical and Biographical Articles in Rees's Cyclopædia. Above thirty-four hundred. 22. Tour to Hafod. 1810. 23. Lachesis Lapponica. A Translation. 1811. 24. Fifty-two Papers in the Transactions of the Linnæan Society. 25. Review of the Modern State of

All of them are remarkable, as it has been said, "for accuracy in observing, accuracy in recording, and unusual accuracy in printing." Yet his biographer informs us, that he seldom copied what he wrote, but sent the first draught to the printer, sometimes with scarcely an erasure of the pen, and perfect in the minutest particulars of orthography and punctuation; and that he often wrote the best when pressed for time, as was commonly the case with his dedications and prefaces. But what most distinguishes his scientific writings is the pure, unconstrained, and affecting moral and religious spirit which they breathe, of which it would be easy to multiply illustrations. One must suffice, the concluding paragraphs of the Preface to his Introduction to Botany.

"To those," he observes, "whose minds and understandings are already formed, the study of nature may be recommended, independently of all other considerations, as a rich source of innocent pleasure. Some people are ever inquiring, What is the use of any particular plant? by which they mean, What food or physic, or what materials for the painter or dyer does it afford? They look on a beautiful flowery meadow with admiration, only in proportion as it affords nauseous drugs or salves. Others consider a botanist with respect only as he may be able to teach them some profitable improvement in tanning, or dyeing, by which they may quickly grow rich, and be then perhaps no longer of any use to mankind or themselves. These views are not blamable, but they are not the sole end of human existence. Is it not desirable to call the soul from the feverish agitation of worldly pursuits, to the contemplation of Divine Wisdom in the beautiful economy of Nature? Is it not a privilege to walk with God in the garden of creation, and hold converse with his providence? If such elevated feelings do not lead to the study of Nature, it cannot be far pursued without rewarding the student by exciting them.

"Rousseau, a great judge of the human heart and observer of human manners, has remarked, that 'when science is transplanted from the mountains and woods into cities and worldly society, it loses its genuine charms and becomes a source of envy, jealousy, and rivalship.' This is still more true, if it be cultivated as a mere source of emolument.

Botany. 1817. 26. A Grammar of Botany. 1821. 27. Linnæan Correspondence. 2 vols. 8vo. 1821. 28. The English Flora. 4 vols. 8vo. 1824 – 1828.

"But the man, who loves botany for its own sake, knows no such feelings, nor is he dependent for happiness on situations or scenes that favor their growth. He would find himself neither solitary nor desolate, had he no other companion than a 'mountain daisy,' that 'modest crimson-tipped flower,' so sweetly sung by one of Nature's own poets. The humblest weed or moss will ever afford him something to examine or to illustrate, and a great deal to admire. Introduce him to the magnificence of a tropical forest, the enamelled meadows of the Alps, or the wonders of New Holland, and his thoughts will not dwell much upon riches or literary honors; things that

'Play round the head, but come not near the heart.'

"In botany all is elegance and delight. No painful, disgusting, unhealthy experiments or inquiries are to be made. Its pleasures spring up under our feet, and, as we pursue them, reward us with health and serene satisfaction. None but the most foolish or depraved could derive any thing from it but what is beautiful, or pollute its lovely scenery with unamiable or unhallowed images. Those who do so, either from corrupt taste or malicious design, can be compared only to the fiend entering into the garden of Eden."

Our own Professor Peck, writing to Sir James soon afterwards, says of such passages:

"The Preface is excellent; the reflections are perfectly just, and place this delightful science in its proper light. Some paragraphs affected me in a manner which I cannot well describe, and which I have frequently experienced in reading Linné and Pliny. The terminating one, p. 338, is one of these. Did you ever observe, in reading any thing which affected the mind by its energy or sublimity, that the blood flowed more copiously to the heart, leaving a chill on the surface of the body? I cannot explain it, but I never read Linné's Introduction to the *Systema Naturæ* without this sensation.

"I feel all that you say of botany as an introduction to amiable characters, for the little I know of it has brought me acquainted with some of the best and most worthy persons in every country that I have visited, and those whom I shall always love. The converse of such persons cherishes the flame of philanthropy within me. The study of Natural History, if pursued on right principles, thus serves to keep the heart warm, and to preserve in vigor its best affections; while in most other pursuits, the heart is hardened by the collision

of sordid interest, and its affections smothered by emulation. The study of man has often given me pain; but since I have seen more of him, I feel a more glowing love of my species, and my heart stretched, as it were, with gratitude and affection. God keep it so! for a cold heart can never be happy." — Vol. I. pp. 476, 477.

Numerous and pressing, however, as were Sir James's literary engagements and occupations, he never allowed these to interfere with the duties of friendship, or interrupt his frequent and instructive correspondence with scholars of his own and almost every other country. The language in which he is addressed from all quarters, and by persons of all parties and persuasions, evinces the sentiments not only of respect but of confidence and love, which his character and amiable manners had inspired. To his friend Davall, of Orbe in Switzerland, an ardent admirer of nature and botany like himself, he writes:

"I feel deeply the proof of your affection in wishing me to be godfather to your child; but you shall judge whether I ought, or not. I must be quite open with you in this as in all things. I could not conscientiously promise it. I have taken much pains to settle my faith; and, thank God, it is settled so as to make me very happy. I am no enthusiast: I look up to one God, and delight in referring all my hopes and wishes to him. I consider the doctrine and example of Christ as the greatest blessing God has given us, and that his character is the most perfect and lovely we ever knew, except that of God himself. This is my religion, and I hope it is not unsound. I have found great good from it; and if not all the good I ought, I feel it is my own fault. But to the point in question. I think godfathers and godmothers an unnecessary form, and even worse, as a religious form that means nothing cannot be innocent. If by it is meant only that I am to be attached nearer to the child than any one except its parents, that I may presume more to advise and study its happiness,— very well; but *that* I shall do without any form or ceremony. I had rather the ceremony, as far as respects me, were dispensed with. But if you and Mrs. Davall still persist in your desire, and think it will in any manner attach me closer to you I submit."— Vol. II. p. 32.

The following letter from Dawson Turner, Esq. of Yarmouth, under date of February 5, 1806, is a beautiful specimen of the moral and religious tone pervading this corre-

spondence. It was written upon the loss of his eldest son, a most engaging child, who was unhappily burnt to death.

"Knowing, my dear Sir, how frequently you heard of us by Dr. Rigby, I was willing to put off the painful task of writing to you, as long as I could. A painful one indeed it is, and yet a most sweet one; for without experiencing equal affliction, you cannot conceive the sensations of pleasure which the affectionate kindness of my friends has occasioned; and to you I may say, what I should be sorry to say to any other, lest I should be regarded as affected or foolish, that the reading of your letter drew from my eyes the most delightful tears they ever shed.

"You knew our poor babe, and you always treated him with a kindness which his mother and I shall never forget so long as we live; for those who were kind to him have now the strongest claim upon our gratitude. You know, therefore, what a loss we have sustained in being deprived of him, even without considering those dreadful circumstances attending his death, upon which I cannot at this time reflect, without shuddering with horror. And yet in the midst of this calamity, the mercy of Divine Providence was so striking in the preservation of my wife and of my remaining children, that, if it do but please the Almighty that their lives should be spared, and her health and spirits restored, I feel that I can in time regard even this visitation in the true light which I believe that duty to my Maker requires.

"I endeavour again to turn my thoughts to botany; and though my mind has not yet regained its spring, I find in it great amusement and comfort when I walk out alone. I cannot attempt to say, my dear friend, how much your expressions of affection and friendship have moved me: it gives me the liveliest pleasure to feel that I have a heart capable of valuing them, and I trust in God that you will always find me most anxious to strive to merit them. If you see any thing amiss in my conduct, my disposition, or my temper, I entreat you, by your friendship for me, never to let it pass without notice, and I assure you that you shall find me grateful. Conscience indeed speaks, but we learn in time to disregard her like Amurath's ring. The words of a friend are much more sure of being attended to; and when that friend has such a heart, and leads such a life as you do, it is hardly possible that they should fail of effect; at least I would fain hope so, for the credit of my nature."—Vol. II. pp. 115. 116.

In July, 1814, Sir James had the honor of being knighted by the late king, George IV.

At the instance of Professor Martyn, and with the coun-

tenance and encouragement of many of the heads of the houses, and of several of the first dignitaries of the church, he applied, in 1818, for the botanical chair at Cambridge. But a cabal among the bigots and underlings repulsed the honor and advantage which such an appointment would have conferred on the University, on the ground that he was a Dissenter and a Unitarian. Professor Schultz, an eminent Bavarian naturalist, in his narrative of a Botanical Visit to England in 1824, exclaims; "Who would have believed that a University, within the walls of which the immortal Erasmus Roterodamus once taught, and which had produced such a man as Milton, should ever, and even in the twentieth year of the nineteenth century, sink to such a depth of barbarity [*bestialität*]!" It could make over its Bible and Prayer-book monopoly to Baskerville, a scoffing atheist; but the moment a Dissenter and a Unitarian was understood to be approaching the consecrated precincts, though for purposes purely scientific, this pious and self-denying community bristles with horror. Events like these remind one of the anecdote so well told in the "Tour of a German Prince." "The Duke of Orleans proposed to Louis the Fourteenth an ambassador to Spain, whom he accepted, but the next day recalled, because he heard he was a Jansenist. 'By no means, your Majesty,' said the Duke, 'for as far as I know, he does not even believe in a God.' 'May I depend upon that?' asked the king gravely. 'Certainly,' replied the Duke, smiling. 'Well, then, let him have the post, in God's name.'" *

* Tour of a German Prince, p. 56. — Fairness requires us to admit, that the spirit of reform in England has reached at length the Universities. "There is," says Dr. Lant Carpenter, "a noble spirit at work in our ancient Universities, and ordinary wisdom will support its influence. Within this last twelvemonth, that which has been viewed as the most exclusive, set the illustrious example of receiving into its halls and its splendid theatre, the members of an association, having the promotion of science only in view, and embracing, without distinction, all who desire to aid its object. I saw there Dissenters of various denominations (and, in full proportion, of my own), engaged in the purposes of the meeting, and received to the hospitality of the University, without being made to feel that they were regarded as of a different caste, or even that they were strangers. Personally acquainted myself, before that meeting, with none of the resident members of the University, I experienced the courtesy of some of the most distinguished; and I thus offer them the acknowledgments of a

Sir James Smith's health, always delicate, and subject to frequent attacks of an inflammatory nature, was visibly declining for the last five or six years of his life. It was amidst interruptions from this cause, and with the anxious desire often expressed that he might live to finish it, that he wrote his last and best work, the English Flora. On the very day when he entered his library for the last time, the packet, containing the fourth and last volume, reached him. It concludes thus: "If our bodily powers could keep pace with our mental acquirements, the student of half a century would not shrink from the delightful task of being still a teacher; nor does he resign the hope of affording some future assistance to his fellow-laborers; though, for the present, 'a change of study,' to use the expression of a great French writer, may be requisite, 'by way of relaxation and repose.'"

On Saturday, March 15, 1828, he walked out as usual, and apparently without fatigue; but in the evening he was attacked by such an alarming fit of sickness, as almost im-

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mind which always dwells with satisfaction on the indications of a liberal spirit. And with unmixed satisfaction it dwells on that memorable day, when the University of Oxford did itself honor by conferring its highest honors on four men of eminent scientific attainments, for their distinguished service to science, without any regard to religious opinion; not one of them being of the Church of England. On the right of the Vice-Chancellor were the Doctors of Oxford; and on the left (in the seats generally appropriated to the former) were many members of the Association, distinguished in the walks of science, to whom the President, the Rev. Dr. Buckland, gave an invitation as he observed them, in the liberal spirit of the day. The spectators in the area, and in the ladies' gallery, shared in the general manifestation of satisfaction, when the Doctors elect were introduced in dignified procession; and as the names of Brewster, Brown, and Faraday were announced, the applause was ardent and universal. But when that of Dalton was mentioned, presenting himself in his plain garb, covered with the pink gown of his degree, and when, on admission, the Quaker took his seat among the learned sons of the University, the general sentiment was that of enthusiasm and delight, and the expression of it was loud and long-continued. In this none seemed to participate more than the undergraduates in the gallery; and the mind, glancing onward, saw that the preparation was that day made, in the heart of many an ingenuous youth, for enlarged and liberal sentiments as to the connexions of man with man, and that the exclusive barriers were broken down." — *Brief Notes on the Rev. Dr. Arnold's Principles of Church Reform*, pp. 21, 22.

mediately forbade the hope of his recovery. He continued sinking until six o'clock on the Monday morning following, when he quietly resigned his breath, and his spirit returned to God who gave it. His remains were interred in the vault belonging to Lady Smith's family, at Lowestoft. Few, very few, have gone down to the grave more tenderly beloved, more sincerely lamented. "This great and irreparable loss," says Mr. Roscoe, "I too much remember as one of the weightiest misfortunes of my life; for, though I was sensible that the health of my dear friend was precarious, yet I had flattered myself, that, being younger by so many years than myself, I should have left him my survivor. I cannot, however, but rejoice in his calm and happy departure, his great worth fully understood, his fame established, and his most valuable work just finished. When I consider these circumstances, together with his pure and pious mind, I cannot repine at the result; and if it were not presumptuous, I would express an earnest wish, that my latter day might be like his."

In the Memoir inserted in the "Annual Biography," his religious and political sentiments are thus given:

"His creed was the New Testament; and he read it, as a celebrated divine [Dr. Whichcot] recommends, 'as a man would read a letter from his friend, in the which he doth only seek after what was his friend's mind and meaning, not what he can put upon the words.' He delighted in dwelling on the character of Jesus Christ; he felt the wisdom, the grandeur, the cloudless benignity of his spirit. Deeply impressed with the truth and importance of the Christian faith, he did much to recommend and enforce it. He regularly attended public worship at the Octagon Chapel, in Norwich; and he attended it, not with the air of a man who was setting an example to others, but in the character of an humble follower of Jesus, and he 'took the bread and wine in remembrance of him.' The mind of Sir James Smith was formed for devotion, not controversy. Yet, to the last, he took the greatest interest in the prosperity of the congregation of Unitarian Dissenters, to which he belonged, and of which, at the time of his decease, he was one of the deacons.

"With regard to politics, he was to the last an ardent lover of liberty; and, though of the gentlest and most retiring disposition, he always gave his public countenance and support to Whig principles in his native city and county. Placed in a

scientific station of eminence, he did not obtrude his own religious and political sentiments where they would have been out of place; but through life, no honors or distinction, or fear of unpopularity, or devotion to scientific pursuits, could deter him from the most unreserved and steady avowal and support of his principles, both religious and political."

In a note, the same writer adds:

"It is the more important to remark this fact, as, immediately upon the death of Sir James Smith, there appeared, in a provincial newspaper, a pretended memoir of him, which afterwards found its way into a highly respectable periodical publication ["The Gentleman's Magazine"], containing statements of changes in his religious and political sentiments, in which statements there is not a word of truth." *

Sir James Smith not only assisted Mr. John Taylor in compiling the Norwich Selection of Hymns, but enriched it with nine of his own; all of which, and that especially on the Saviour's words, "It is I, be not afraid," † not only breathe a truly devotional and Christian spirit, but evince more than ordinary powers of versification. It is observable of his poetry, and of his writings generally, and indeed it may be regarded as the moral of his whole life, that his rational and liberal views of Christianity enabled him to introduce his religion on all occasions, without any sense or appearance of awkwardness or constraint. His religion was one which mingled easily and gracefully with all the common duties and connexions by which he was bound to society, and threw over his whole public and private character a peculiar dignity and charm, and by blending in perfect harmony with all his convictions and affections, penetrated, purified, and ennobled his whole being.

* Annual Biography, Vol. III. p. 315. The abovementioned calumny occasioned also the insertion of a letter in "The Morning Chronicle," under the signature of *Philalethes*, from one of Sir James's intimate friends and correspondents, and of another in "The Monthly Repository," June, 1828, from Mr. Edward Taylor, who had officiated as deacon with Sir James, for nearly twenty years, in the Octagon Chapel Congregation. Both testify, that, "not only as a man of science, but as an Unitarian Christian, the name of Smith should be associated with those of Newton and Priestley."

† First printed in "The Christian Disciple," New Series, Vol. III, p. 122.

ART. VII. — *A New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets, arranged in Chronological Order.* By GEORGE R. NOYES. Vol. I. *containing Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah.* Boston. Charles Bowen. 1833. 12mo. pp. xii. and 288.

MR. NOYES called his excellent work upon Job an *Amended Version.* With better justice to himself and the subject, he has given to the public the results of his studies upon the Psalms and some of the Prophets, under the name of *New Translations.* We have his views upon the point suggested in this change, though without express reference to it, in the Preface to the present publication.

"It seems to have been supposed by some, that I have retained a portion of the phraseology of the old version in deference to the popular prejudice in its favor. I therefore deem it proper to state, that I have proceeded upon no narrower principle than this, to adopt that meaning of the original, which appeared to my judgment the true one, and that mode of expressing it, which seemed to my taste the best. The associations connected with certain expressions form, it is true, an important part of their recommendation. But when I have used certain expressions on this account, it was because they had such associations in my own mind. In many instances a phraseology somewhat antiquated has been retained, because it was to my taste, or because I could think of no expressions, which, on the whole, I preferred to see in their place. I wish, therefore, to assume all the responsibility, though not the credit, connected with the phraseology of my version. I may have been unduly attached to certain forms of expression in the old version on account of feelings and prejudices existing in my own mind, but I wholly disclaim, in this matter, any deference to the feelings, prejudices, or opinions of others, farther than they wholly coincide with my own. I cheerfully forego all the patronage which is founded on any supposed respect of mine for any prevailing public sentiment in relation to the subject. I think it hardly necessary to add, that I have found nothing in the character of the translators of the received version, or in the instructions which they received in relation to the execution of the work from the royal pedant, their master, which should make their authority binding on all succeeding ages.

"Those portions of the common version, which remain unaltered in mine, have, in proportion to their difficulty, been the subject of as extensive and laborious investigation, as those

which have been altered. This fact deserves the attention of those, who object to new translations. The increased confidence, which they may place in those parts of the common version, which pass through the furnace of modern investigation unchanged, should compensate them for any supposed evils, connected with the alteration of other parts of it.

"In the translation of the Psalms, as in the following volume, fewer alterations occur than in the Book of Job. This happens, not from the slightest change of my views, nor, as I trust, from any relaxation in my labors, but simply because the Book of Job was worse translated than any other portion of the common version, and needed more alteration. In what I may be able to translate hereafter, I shall proceed upon the same principle, with which I commenced, viz. to spare no idea, which seems unauthorized by the original, and no expression, for which I can substitute a better."—pp. x, xi.

Nothing, it appears to us, could be better said; — no principles pertaining to the subject, more sound. It is a sad, and a shameful superstition, which permits the common version to stand in the way of better aids towards a comprehension of the sense of the sacred writers. It is not necessary to deny to that version all praise, in order to show that it by no means satisfies the reasonable demands of the church at the present day. The occasion for some of its defects, at the time of its production unavoidable, is now at least partially removed. It was made, as is allowed on all hands, from a faulty text of the original. In respect to the New Testament, we are altogether without excuse for not availing ourselves of those corrections of the text, which have since been amply gathered, and are no matter of dispute. And though we have nothing which can be called a critical edition of the Old Testament, and from the want on one side, and the multiplicity on the other, of the materials which should furnish it, can scarcely hope for one, at least in our day, yet the observations of Kennicott and his successors on the Masoretic authorities, the fuller examinations of some ancient versions, and the collation of others not known two centuries ago, have by no means failed to furnish readings by which a sober critic will know how to profit. — But, however it may be with emendatory criticism, in the department of interpretation great strides have been made since the time of King James's translators. The Hebrew language had been then but partially recovered. The vocabulary, as arranged in dictionaries,

was rendered solely from the tradition in the Jewish schools, and the testimony of ancient versions. The fruits of those large contributions to Hebrew lexicography, from the cognate dialects, which, begun by Schultens a century ago, continue still to be made, were of course then all inaccessible, to say nothing of the progress made in collateral knowledge of various kinds, as in ancient profane history, Oriental customs and opinions, natural history, geography, and the like, which, in the poetical books especially, is of material consideration.

Though, as a practical matter concerning ourselves, blamable defects in the work are of no more account than such as could not be avoided, yet it is further true that the work was by no means so well done, as, at the time and place of its execution, it should have been. It is quite uncertain whether, on the whole, it is so good as the Bishop's Bible, which preceded it. It is quite certain that it is not so good in many parts. We do not particularly speak of cases where a translation is plainly adopted for reasons of dogmatics rather than of philology; nor of the careless admission of idioms foreign to the genius of our tongue; nor of the want of uniformity in rendering the same original in different parts, extending even to the disguising of the identity of proper names, and of the subject of a single paragraph; nor of the profuse overlaying of the meaning with unmeaning Italic interpolations; nor of the copying of the egregious Genevan blunder of breaking up the book, without measure or reason, into fragments called verses; a device which it is all but inconceivable that men of sense should adopt, except on set purpose to confuse their author's sense. — To say nothing, beyond a passing word, of such particulars as these, it is impossible, we insist, in reading many passages, to avoid the conclusion, that the translators, notwithstanding their famous apparatus of classes and revisions, gave themselves no concern as to whether they were conveying a sense or not; and, in some, it is quite clear that they thought of nothing but to dispose, — no matter how, — let the reader see to that, — of a verse which they did not understand, that so they might come at another, more manageable. If any reader is disposed to contradict us, let him look, for an example that strikes us at the moment, at Hosea iv. 18. We will not lumber our pages with it. Mr. Noyes, as usual, is at the trouble to find and give the

sense. — Obscurity, indeed, whether arising from ignorance or carelessness, is the pervading fault of the work. We complain of it much seldomer for giving wrong senses than for giving none. Altogether too much of it there is, from which no idea whatever is to be gathered. We do not speak of texts touching doctrine. The remark, if peculiarly, is by no means exclusively, applicable to them. The Book of Job, presenting an alternation of magnificent with utterly unintelligible passages, and the last chapter of Habakkuk, where a glorious strain of poetry, partly well transfused into English, is in part marvellously marred, are specimens of the prevailing character of the version.

Had it been much better executed than it was, we apprehend that judicious men would think, that it was now time for another to be provided to take its place. The course of languages can no more be stopped than that of ages. Old words and phrases are superseded. They go out of use; their meaning is forgotten, and their sound becomes strange. If they do not lose their significance, they change it; and then, instead of an imperfect idea or none, they suggest one, which, in the place where they continue to stand, is erroneous. Or they attach to themselves associations of an undignified and repulsive character, altogether foreign to their primitive design and force. Of the last case, we will adduce no examples; they are unhappily too familiar. Of the first, are such as "*went about* to kill me," "fetched a compass," "took up our carriages," which occur within a short space in the Acts of the Apostles. Of the second is the word *let* (as 2 Thes. ii. 7.) for *hinder*, a word which the great majority of English readers have no suspicion, except as they gather it from their Bibles, to have been ever used except in the opposite sense; and the word *meat*, in meat-offerings, from which what we call meat was excluded. — This essential character of language makes it indispensable for the most skilful translation, if it is not to be suffered to survive its estimation and best usefulness, to be superseded in due time by another, conformed to the changes in expression which have meanwhile taken place. And we will add, though we do not intend to urge the point, that, as the most simple and popular forms of speech become in a degree technical when they have been much cited and used in the arguments of theologians, and can hardly fail to have something of arbitrary meaning thus su-

perinduced upon them, a change of translated phraseology from time to time, if it be but in a substitution of synonymous words, may well do something towards restoring the freshness of the original sense.

We conceive that Mr. Noyes has made the Christian public much his debtor by the portion now before us of a version of that difficult, and strongly interesting part of Scripture, the Hebrew prophecies. As it would be premature, while his work has advanced no further, to make it the text of a discussion of any of the important points relating to the character, and principles of interpretation, of those writings, we have little to do but repeat the testimony, which we have borne,* on the two previous occasions of his coming before the public, to the exceeding value of his labors. Three things are especially to be spoken of to his praise; his learning, his cautious and sound judgment, and his beautiful taste. In the two last qualities, particularly, he is very advantageously distinguished from Lowth and Newcome, with whose works the present volume is most likely to be compared. Lowth was the founder of a most adventurous school of Hebrew criticism in England. It is astonishing how confidently and how easily he helps himself out of all sorts of difficulties, by conjectural emendations of the text, countenanced or not countenanced by some obscure copy or version. We have no doubt, as we have already hinted, that there are texts in the Old Testament, long ago corrupted, which are incapable of being restored in any other way. Every one for example, who does not mean to affirm that the author of Chronicles supposed that a son might be older than his father, must allow that either 2 Chronicles xxi. 20. or xxii. 2. is one such. But, on the other hand, no considerate person can fail to see the extreme danger of giving license to conjectural emendation of writings in the Hebrew language, in which the close mutual resemblance of some of the letters constantly offers such a seductive invitation, and such color of reason, to capricious changes. Here was the great vice of Lowth, and of his followers, Blayney and Newcome. For curiosity's sake, we should like much to see how a Unitarian editor would fare at the hands of the critics, who should take such liberties with his text as did these dignitaries of the English

* Vol. IV. p. 309. VI. p. 99. 2d Series.

church. Very rarely, on the contrary, and then, as in Amos v. 6. under good patronage, does Mr. Noyes abandon the Masoretic reading; a caution which we cannot but think commendable and necessary in the present state of textual criticism.

Nor have we any more hesitation in speaking of the superior taste evinced in the style of this version to that of its predecessors. Nothing of the kind can be more beautiful, either in the conception or expression, than Lowth's own criticisms on parts of the Hebrew poetry; but his English version is not seldom deformed by modern, artificial, sometimes dainty phrases, inconsistent with the simple majesty which ought to have been studied in the language. He has for instance the words *inanity, negociator, envoy, plebeians, disparting rills.* Mr. Blayney in like manner makes Jeremiah speak of a *gratuity*, of *cavalry*, of the *privy council* of Jehovah, and the *environs* of Jerusalem; and Newcome, who censures both for this fault, and is much more rarely chargeable with it, writes, however, *excision, retaliate, inflict*, and *despicable*, which are hardly of better currency. We incline to think our American translator unequalled in the plain and graceful purity of his English. *Must*, for new wine, is, from the necessity of the case, no exception; though it might be wished that Saxon customs had allowed him to have a word, for the exigency, from a better mint.

Of Mr. Noyes's great skill in the management of passages, which, it would seem, could hardly be translated, a fair specimen may be seen at Isaiah iii. 17. Occasionally he adds great force by the simplest expedient, as by the introduction of the definite article into Joel iii. 14.

> "The multitudes, the multitudes, in the valley of judgment!"

At other times it seems to be nothing but the difference of a little care in looking at the original, which has given him the advantage over King James's translators, of presenting a clear and fit meaning, as in the following texts, where the latter, whose version we have subjoined, had no excuse of difficulty, for writing what were as well not read.

> "A man's relative, or a burner of the dead, shall take him up,
> To carry his bones out of the house,

And he shall say to him that is in the innermost part of the house,
Is there any yet with thee?
And he shall answer, No one!
Then shall he say, Keep silence!
For it availeth nothing to call upon Jehovah."

"And a man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that *is* by the sides of the house, *Is there* yet *any* with thee? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue; for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord." — Amos vi. 10.

"Until Jehovah have removed the men far away,
And there be great desolation in the land.
And though there be a tenth part remaining in it,
Even this shall perish by a second destruction;
Yet as, when the terebinth and the oak are cut down,
Their stem remaineth alive,
So shall a holy race be the stem of the nation."

"And the Lord have removed men far away, and *there be* a great forsaking in the midst of the land. But yet in it *shall be* a tenth, and *it* shall return, and shall be eaten; as a teil-tree, and as an oak whose substance *is* in them, when they cast *their leaves: so* the holy seed *shall be* the substance thereof." — Isaiah vi. 12, 13.

"The darkness shall not remain where now is distress;
Of old he brought the land of Zebulon, and the land of Naphtali, into contempt;
In future times shall he bring the land of the sea, beyond Jordan, the circle of the Gentiles, into honor."

"Nevertheless the dimness *shall* not *be* such as *was* in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict *her* by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations." — Isaiah ix. 1.

The transfer, in this version, of the last clause, from the sixth chapter of Hosea to the beginning of the seventh chapter, in disregard of a division which has no critical authority, relieves the former text of obscurity, and adds greatly to the emphasis of the latter. Newcome saw the difficulty, and a scholar whom he quotes had suggested the

remedy; but for some unexplained reason he neglected to adopt it.

Though it is ill disputing with Mr. Noyes on the sense of a Hebrew word, we venture to doubt his authority for the translation, *prophesied* and *prophecies*, in the introductions to Amos and Isaiah. *Seer* and *prophet*, it is true, are to some extent, convertible terms; but the former has reference to the discernment, the latter to the utterance of truth; and we submit, whether the rendering of the root of one word as if it were equivalent to the root of the other, is not, at least, enlarging so far the translator's into the commentator's office.

We conclude with expressing our firm persuasion, that the great importance of these works will not fail to be permanently and increasingly estimated. It is not to the credit of our countrymen, if their author is not already reaping some benefit from them, additional to his own consciousness, and their acknowledgment, of his having devoted high powers to a high object.

ART. VIII. — *Poems and Prose Writings.* By RICHARD H. DANA. Boston. Russell, Odiorne, & Co. 1833. 12mo. pp. xi. and 450.

THE works of a great and thinking mind should always be received with respect and treated with delicacy. They are addressed, not to one circle, one nation, or one age, but to all men in all ages. They contain the essence of a man's intellectual being, and are, as it were, an impersonation of his immortality. To tamper with them lightly, is to tamper with the higher moods of the soul. Through their medium, unborn generations of men will hold communion with the spirit that gave them being, form their judgment of its character, and give it a dwelling among the thoughts and feelings and opinions which go to make up their own.

The volume, of which the title is placed at the head of this article, contains some of the most remarkable works that our country has ever produced. They are full of power, but of a

dark and gigantic character, enlivened here and there by the softest traits, like sun-lit and verdant openings among bare and rugged and desolate hills. Most of these pieces have been published before, and are generally known among the reading community. The first part of the volume is taken up with the poems, and the remainder with the prose writings; the former, with two or three exceptions, appeared some years ago by themselves, and the latter consist of Mr. Dana's contributions to "The Idle Man." We propose to offer a few remarks on their character and merits.

The first and longest poem is "The Buccaneer." It is a tale of piracy and murder, and a terrible supernatural retribution. The poem opens with a beautiful description of the island where

> "Nor holy bell, nor pastoral bleat,
> In former days within the vale;
> Flapped in the bay the pirate's sheet,
> Curses were on the gale;
> Rich goods lay on the sand, and murdered men;
> Pirate and wrecker kept their revels then."—p. 2.

To this succeeds the character of the Buccaneer, Matthew Lee, which is drawn in a few bold and masterly lines. Disappointed in an effort to engage in honest trade, Lee makes up his mind to renew his former manner of life. A young bride, whose husband has fallen in the Spanish war, seeks a passage in his ship, to some distant shore, where she may

> "wait amid her sorrows till the day
> His voice of love should call her thence away."

The ship is at sea. The murderer is meditating the deed of death. The fearful scene follows. How strong, distinct, and terrible is the description.

XXIX.

> "They 're gone.—The helmsman stands alone;
> And one leans idly o'er the bow.
> Still as a tomb the ship keeps on;
> Nor sound nor stirring now.
> Hush, hark! as from the centre of the deep—
> Shrieks—fiendish yells! They stab them in their sleep!

XXX.

> "The scream of rage, the groan, the strife,
> The blow, the gasp, the horrid cry,
> The panting, throttled prayer for life,

The dying's heaving sigh,
The murderer's curse, the dead man's fixed, still glare,
And fear's and death's cold sweat — they all are there!

XXXI.

"On pale, dead men, on burning cheek,
On quick, fierce eyes, brows hot and damp,
On hands that with the warm blood reek,
Shines the dim cabin lamp.
Lee looked. 'They sleep so sound,' he laughing, said,
'They 'll scarcely wake for mistress or for maid.'

XXXII.

"A crash! they 've forced the door, — and then
One long, long, shrill, and piercing scream
Comes thrilling through the growl of men.
'T is hers! — O God, redeem
From worse than death thy suffering, helpless child!
That dreadful shriek again — sharp, sharp, and wild!

XXXIII.

"It ceased. — With speed o' th' lightning's flash,
A loose-robed form, with streaming hair,
Shoots by. — A leap — a quick, short splash!
'T is gone! — There 's nothing there!
The waves have swept away the bubbling tide.
Bright-crested waves, how calmly on they ride!

XXXIV.

"She 's sleeping in her silent cave,
Nor hears the stern, loud roar above,
Nor strife of man on land or wave.
Young thing! her home of love
She soon has reached! — Fair, unpolluted thing!
They harmed her not! — Was dying suffering?"—pp. 10, 11.

The effect of the above scene on Lee's mind and manner is strikingly conceived. The dead bodies are thrown into the sea. Even the horse is cast overboard, and his appearance and frightful voice amidst the waters, give occasion for another of those peculiarly startling descriptions, in which Mr. Dana's genius so much delights. At length the pirates land on the island, and indulge in their horrid revelry. The anniversary of the murder comes round, and they resolve to celebrate it

"With royal state and special glee."

But in the midst of their debaucheries, the apparition of a burning ship rises on the waves and approaches the island, spreading dismay among all who behold it. Then starts from the deep a Spectre Horse, and gains the shore:

LXV.

"The spirit-steed sent up the neigh.
It seemed the living trump of hell,
Sounding to call the damned away,
To join the host that fell.
It rang along the vaulted sky: the shore
Jarred hard, as when the thronging surges roar.

LXVI.

"It rang in ears that knew the sound;
And hot, flushed cheeks are blanched with fear.
And why does Lee look wildly round?
Thinks he the drowned horse near?
He drops his cup — his lips are stiff with fright.
Nay, sit thee down! It is thy banquet-night.

LXVII.

"'I cannot sit. I needs must go:
The spell is on my spirit now.
I go to dread — I go to woe!'
O, who so weak as thou,
Strong man! — His hoofs upon the door-stone, see,
The shadow stands! — His eyes are on thee, Lee! —

LXVIII.

"Thy hair pricks up! — 'O, I must bear
His damp, cold breath! It chills my frame!
His eyes — their near and dreadful glare
Speak that I must not name!'
Thou 'rt mad to mount that horse! — 'A power within,
I must obey,— cries, "Mount thee, man of sin!"'"— p. 19.

The spirit steed bears him to the "hanging steep." The tall ship yet burns on:

"Her hot, red flame is beating all the night,
On man and horse, in their cold phosphor light."

At the approach of day, the steed and phantom ship gradually disappear, and

"Lost, mazed, alone, see, Lee is standing there."

The pirate now feels himself a doomed man. Wherever he turns his footsteps he is shunned. Like Cain, he wanders

about with a mark set on him by an offended God. His wretched efforts to regain his former swaggering air, utterly fail. A secret fear is burning at his heart.

"For now the year's dread round is drawing near."

The same scene is repeated. Lee rides again the spectre horse, and gazes again on the phantom ship. Now he hears the terrible warning that the next time will be the last. Another year of misery passes on. Again the awful apparition rises from the sea.

CXIII.

"They 're met. — 'I know thou com'st for me,'
Lee's spirit to the spectre said;
'I know that I must go with thee —
Take me not to the dead.
It was not I alone that did the deed!'
Dreadful the eye of that still, spectral steed!

CXIV.

"Lee cannot turn. There is a force
In that fixed eye, which holds him fast.
How still they stand! — the man and horse.
'Thine hour is almost past.'
'O, spare me,' cries the wretch, 'thou fearful One!'
'My time is full — I must not go alone.'

CXV.

"'I 'm weak and faint. O, let me stay!'
'Nay, murderer, rest nor stay for thee!'
The horse and man are on their way;
He bears him to the sea.
Hark! how the spectre breathes through this still night!
See, from his nostrils streams a deathly light!

CXVI.

"He 's on the beach; but stops not there;
He 's on the sea! — that dreadful horse!
Lee flings and writhes in wild despair! —
In vain! The spirit-corse
Holds him by fearful spell; — he cannot leap.
Within that horrid light he rides the deep.

CXVII.

"It lights the sea around their track —
The curling comb, and dark steel wave:
There, yet, sits Lee the spectre's back —

Gone! gone! and none to save!
They 're seen no more; the night has shut them in.
May heaven have pity on thee, man of sin!

CXVIII.

"The earth has washed away its stain;
The sealed-up sky is breaking forth,
Mustering its glorious hosts again,
From the far south and north;
The climbing moon plays on the rippling sea.
— O, whither on its waters rideth Lee?" — pp. 31, 32.

Such is an outline of this singular poem. It seems to be founded on one of those marvellous traditions, in which the popular faith has embodied the universal belief, that a just retribution for crime will come sooner or later. The "avenging furies" are not confined to ancient superstition, but dwell in the creed of every people under the sun. They owe their existence to an inborn persuasion, which nothing in human life can destroy. It lies at the foundation of morals, and opens a source of the highest poetry. It is closely entwined with popular feeling; and breaks out in popular songs and supernatural tales. The writer of fiction who avails himself skilfully of this sentiment, will be sure of wide-spread and lasting influence on the minds of his fellow-beings.

The characters in this poem are not elaborately drawn and filled out. A few bold touches, and a sketch of living power starts into being before the reader's eye. A word, an expression, a line, open deep glances into the inmost hiding-places of the soul, like a flash of lightning suddenly let in upon the recesses of some gloomy cavern. On these daring pencillings, if we may be allowed a term from a kindred art, the shading of supernatural incidents is made to fall with startling effect, and here and there a trait of softest light, mingles sweetly with the general sternness of the piece. The style is terse and strong. Few words, chosen with consummate art, and constructed with singular power, each being necessary to give the full meaning, and not always doing that, form its leading characteristic. A writer of deep feeling, whose works are the expression of his own heart, will always pour out his sentiments in an unbidden tide of Saxon idioms. This is true of Mr. Dana and his writings. There are, in this poem, many entire stanzas in which scarcely a word of Latin

or Greek or French origin is to be found. The following lines, taken at random, are a good illustration of our meaning.

> " *The sea has like a plaything tossed*
> *That heavy hull the livelong night*
> *The man of sin — he is not lost;*
> *Soft breaks the morning light,*
> *Torn spars and sails — her* cargo *in the deep;*
> *The ship makes* port *with slow and* laboring *sweep.*" — p. 5.

We have italicized the words of Saxon derivation.

In the use and application of epithets, most writers fail sometimes egregiously, unless they are ever on their guard. In painting, a fault in laying on the colors shows itself to the eye. In writing, one is not aware of the analogous fault, in laying on descriptive epithets, without a mental analysis of the expression, and a reproduction of the exact idea to be conveyed. There is, besides, in most men's minds a strange want of distinctness in conceiving the precise thing they wish to say, and it is a great relief to them, to hide their confusion under vague and sounding generalities. But Mr. Dana's language is totally different. It is strong, marked, *apt*, and individual.

But much as we applaud the power displayed in this poem, it belongs to a class for which we have but little partiality. It is a delicate thing to find fault with a great writer for exercising a freedom of choice, to which he is unquestionably entitled, among the subjects that present themselves to his mind. We are, perhaps, bound to take what he is willing to give, without assuming to tell him he might have given us something better. But we cannot help expressing our regret that the leading poem in the volume is not on a higher and better theme, than the crime and punishment of a robber of the seas.

The next poem, " The Changes of Home," is in a quite different strain. A wanderer, after long years of absence, returns to his native village. The changes are such as may take place in every one's home; the sentiments are such as may arise in every one's bosom; the melancholy is one that every one has felt. Who is there in all this wide world, that has not gone back in manhood to the scenes familiar to his childish years, and found himself, at every step, reminded of half-forgotten trains of associations, by some often haunted stream, some reverend oak, some lofty

mountain, some formerly well-known, now half-dilapidated dwelling, some countenance, dimly recollected through the mists of many intervening years? Who is there that knows not this, and has not felt the sadness of a heart, filled to bursting with the emotions of the time, the place, the occasion? Not one. The theme is universal as man. The strain will be answered by an echo in every human heart.

This poem is perhaps the most popular of Mr. Dana's productions. In conception, language, sentiment, and melody, it is surpassingly beautiful. It does not contain a single line, which, "dying, he should wish to blot."

Of the poem on "Factitious Life," there will be different opinions. For our own part, we like it least of all Mr. Dana's poetic writings. The humor has nothing delicate and graceful. The descriptions are not recognised as true and harmonious. The satire is awkward and far-fetched. Indeed the habitual gravity of Mr. Dana's thoughts forbids him to indulge in the gay and sportive vein of raillery and satire. Deep and strong emotions are for ever springing up and breaking forth from the mysterious and infinite feelings of the heart. He cannot play on the surface, and hit off a prevailing fashionable folly by a happy turn of expression. He cannot "catch the manners living as they rise," and hold them up to the laughter of his readers, in the mirth and frolic of such graceful humorists as Addison and Irving. But the serious portions of the poem, in which Mr. Dana's native vein again comes out, are finely conceived. They show the same vigor of imagination, terseness of language, and darkly shaded thoughts, that mark his other writings.

"Thoughts on the Soul" has been published in a pamphlet, by itself. It was originally delivered at some anniversary celebration in Andover. We are glad to meet it again; for we consider it one of the most striking productions that have ever come from Mr. Dana's pen. The subject is peculiarly fitted to the reflective and introspective turn of his mind. The thoughts are of singular depth, and the language more than usually condensed, — so much so, that the train of reflection is sometimes obscure. There are passages of thrilling and searching power, in which every word deepens the interest, and the whole of the expression, taken together, presents a picture, an image, a range of metaphor, or a scene from nature, with its moral associations, in the

most lifesome manner. Many of the scenes, if we may so call them, would bear a greater elaboration. The poem would be improved by a fuller developement, and more careful transitions from topic to topic. But he must be a dull creature indeed, whose soul is not moved by the nervous language and shifting pictures, and thought pressing on thought, that crowd on every page of this brief but extraordinary production. The following lines are from the first part of the poem.

"Ocean and land, the living clouds that run
Above, or stand before the setting sun,
Taking and giving glory in his light,
Live but in change too subtle for thy sight.
The lot of man, — see that more varied still
By ceaseless acts of sense, and mind, and will.
Yet could'st thou count up all material things,
All outward difference each condition brings,
Then would'st thou say, perhaps, Lo, here the whole!
— The whole? One thing thou hast forgot, — THE SOUL!

"— Life in itself, it life to all things gives;
For whatsoe'er it looks on, that thing lives, —
Becomes an acting being, ill or good;
And, grateful to its giver, tenders food
For the Soul's health; or, suffering change unblest,
Pours poison down to rankle in the breast:
As acts the man, e'en so it plays its part,
And answers, thought to thought, and heart to heart." —
pp. 89, 90.

The little poem entitled "The Pleasure Boat," is in a different style and very graceful. As a descriptive sketch it is a perfect little gem.

The volume contains other poems of high merit. "The Husband's and Wife's Grave" is full of solemn pathos. The verse flows onward with a sad but majestic harmony, in fine keeping with the melancholy strain of the sentiment. "The Dying Raven" is a magnificent poem; and several shorter pieces are full of beauty and tenderness. A love of Nature, especially in her more solemn aspects, a keen perception of all her beauty and all her harmony, a sympathy with the deepest and most delicate feelings of the heart, tinged with a somewhat mystical striving after the "aliquid immensum infinitumque," are now glimmering, now burst-

ing forth, with a perpetual richness, from every page. With what a fine poetical tact, with how much feeling and truth, do the sketches of natural scenery run into the moral scenery of the heart and mind. How beautifully do the two worlds meet and shade off into each other.

To the prose contributions in the "Idle Man," Mr. Dana has made no addition. These writings are full of genius and fire. They are marked by a strange power, — a power belonging to no other writings of the age. The two longest pieces, "Tom Thornton" and "Paul Felton," are tales of fearful interest. They are both compounded of elements which attract and repel the reader's mind. Tom Thornton is a headstrong boy, with some good feelings, but more bad ones. He is a rebellious pupil, an unnatural son, a hero, a seducer, and a murderer. Passion sweeps over him with a power not to be checked or withstood. Momentary good resolves are scattered, like chaff, before the tempest of his headlong impetuosity. From constitutional temperament, he is absolutely unable to govern himself. In the whirlwind of excited feeling, reason is driven from her throne, and he ceases to be an accountable creature. The maddest freaks, the wildest outbreaks of an uncontrollable nature, mark every step of his course to destruction. The character is thus a bad one, — bad in its tendency, and contradictory to the laws of human nature. Tom Thornton is not insane, and yet his actions out-herod the maddest Herod of maniacs. We discover nothing in his early life to unsettle his reason, nothing to take him from among the common throng, and set him apart as one marked by the hand of God, and yet he seems as powerless as the veriest idiot. There is nothing in him and around him, on which the mind can dwell with pleasure for a moment. We follow him with a kind of charmed attention to the wretched end of his life, because we see in the delineation of character, and the narrative of events, the hand of a master. But we gather from it nothing to console or elevate us. It begins in mischief; it ends in crime, in blood, in madness, and death. As a representation of human life, it is therefore strangely deficient. The author has taken one idea, one abstract quality, out from the multitude that form a man, and worked it up, with marvellous power, into a being neither probable nor possible. The lesson we learn from it, if we learn any, is a bad one, and contradicts the general experience of mankind.

What then shall we say of Paul Felton? A silent, moody man, who gloomily sets himself apart from his race, to brood over his own thoughts, and gather melancholy from the face of nature, he commands, at first, our ready sympathy. He meets with a lovely woman, and the sluggish elements of his nature are stirred into life and action. A mutual attachment is followed by marriage; and we begin to regard him as a man redeemed and won back to the fellowship of his kindred. Gleams of happiness pass over the black deep of his morbid mind. By and by his melancholy returns, bringing with it a dark train of fears and doubts and jealousies. He torments himself into a belief of his own wretchedness, until he becomes the outcast thing his fancy drew. He falls into a mysterious bondage to an idiot boy, who wields an unaccountable sway over his conduct and his destiny. The bloody deed of murder, — the murder of his newly-wedded wife, — is at last brought irresistibly to his mind. The struggle in his soul is awful. He is in the meshes of some dark and gigantic power, and led on, step by step, against his will and in spite of his resistance, to the fatal act. Thoughts of the most shocking kind crowd, one after another, through his bewildered brain. Every incident has its appropriate terror, until his mind is brought to a state of chaotic madness, which is laid open in all its gloom and fearfulness and despair. Through a long series of mental agonies, horror is added to horror, darkness is piled on darkness, woe on woe unutterable, until the brain of the reader staggers, the heart sickens, the spirit shudders, and the flesh creeps. The picture is wrought up to an intensity of painfulness, from which even the catastrophe of murder is a relief.

We do not think such works come within the legitimate scope of creative art. They leave on the mind an impression of unmixed, unmitigated gloom. They do not represent man as he is, scarcely as he can be. They seem like the wanton play of a most powerful imagination, carrying out a monomania, with torturing ingenuity, into all its possible conditions, into all conceivable terrors, through all the most loathsome details of raving madness, compared with which a Bedlam is the very Temple of Reason.

But the essay on "Domestic Life," comes in perfect contrast to the foregoing horrors. Never was drawn a sweeter picture of happiness, a more finished and delicate delineation

of the pleasures of home, in which dwell the affections of every right-hearted man. The sentiments are gentle as a summer breeze, and the language flows in beautiful harmony with them. No person can rise from reading it, without feeling himself a better and happier man. It bears the impress of truth and reality; for in such a strain it is only "from the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaketh."

The tale of "Edward and Mary" contains many fine and well-discriminated traits of character. It is throughout an interesting and beautifully written piece, but is marked by some of the peculiarites which we shall presently point out, as belonging to Mr. Dana's general style, both of conceiving and executing his works.

In regard to Mr. Dana's language, we have already spoken of its distinctive characteristics. It is remarkably pure Saxon. His nice selection of words, so closely intertwined with the first and deepest feelings of the heart, his habits of serious thinking, and his delicate sense of the beautiful in all serious things, have united to form a style of extraordinary terseness, fineness, and strength. It reaches farther into our most hidden and mysterious emotions; it takes a stronger, a more *fearful* hold on our minds, than the style of any other author within our knowledge. Thoughts of the most tremendous import are crowded into a paragraph, a sentence, a line, nay, a single word. The tone of Mr. Dana's writings is generally sad. Their influence would doubtlesss be more healthful, if they were oftener lighted up by the genial sunshine of cheerfulness. His contemplation of Nature generally awakens reflections of a melancholy hue, and leaves an impression that her countenance is always shaded with gloom. There is no just and happy blending of the grave and gay, but the coloring is almost uniformly sombre. These writings do not embody a sympathy with the whole family of man. They assume a select and exclusive circle, made of more delicate mould, whose spirits are touched to finer issues, than those of their fellow-men. They consequently neither understand the world, nor are understood by it. They have a monopoly of refinement and poetry and sentiment. But the notion is a false one, and mars the beauty and usefulness of literary works in which it is embodied. We are all bound together

in one great brotherhood. An electric chain runs the whole circuit of the human race, and the touch of genius draws out the spark of divinity from one extremity to the other.

Another trait of Mr. Dana's writings, — a negative trait it should be called, — is their want of locality and nationality. The scenes are laid in no particular country; there is nothing American, nothing English or French about them. He has created an ideal world, peopled it with abstract qualities moulded into ideal beings, and having but little in common with the world as it lies around us. He describes man, not as he is, nor as he appears in the *ideal man* of other poets and of artists, but according to peculiar conceptions of his own. There is not a single character among his heroes, who is at peace with himself, able to curb his spirit, and do battle against outward circumstances, with his mind in vigorous action, his heart aright, and his body whole. Edward, in the tale of "Edward and Mary," comes the nearest to it. But how does he behave under adversity? Yields to it, surrenders his happiness and the happiness of another, and is restored only by Hercules, in the shape of a rich old friend, putting his shoulder to the wheel, and raising the car of his fortune by a timely supply of, — what think you? — CASH!!

But Mr. Dana's portraits of female characters are drawn with consummate delicacy. We doubt whether the whole range of fiction can furnish two more lovely, more graceful, and more lifesome heroines, than Mary and Esther. That combination of personal grace, refinement of thought, and purity of mind, which forms the highest perfection of woman, Mr. Dana sets forth with the greatest tenderness and truth. These alone would insure to his writings a literary immortality.

Notwithstanding the faults we have found with some of Mr. Dana's productions, we do not hesitate to place him among the first and best writers of prose and poetry, that our country has yet to boast. His works will go down to after generations, admired, studied, and remembered. We take our leave of him, cordially hoping, ere long, to meet him again on the field of literary exertion.

INDEX.

A.

American Annals of Education, reviewed, 257.

Ardent spirits, traffic in, morally wrong, 250.

Authority in the Protestant Church, Chenevière on, 137.

B.

Belsham, Rev. Thomas, 69 — causes of the prejudices against, 70 — account of the early studies of, 71, 72 — religious experiences of, 73 — account of his admission to the church, 74 — effect of Trinitarianism and Calvinism on the mind of, 75 — preparation for the ministry and self-dedication of, 76 — appointed Tutor in Mathematics, Logic, and Metaphysics at Daventry, 78 — removal from Daventry to Worcester, as pastor, 79 — scruples of, about doxologies to the Spirit, 80 — removal to Daventry as Principal of the seminary, 83 — flourishing state of the seminary under his superintendence, 83 — causes which led to the change of his religious sentiments, 83, 86 — his own account of the manner of that change, 87 — influence of new sentiments on his moral and religious progress, 90 — resigns his situation at Daventry, 91 — takes charge of Hackney College, 93 — succeeds Dr. Priestley at the Gravel-Pit Meeting, 96 — removes to Essex Street, 100 — his works, 106 — his old age and death, 111 — his character, 114.

Bible, common version of, criticized, 384.

Botany, moral influence of the study, 377.

C.

Cellérier's Christian Minister described in Three Discourses, reviewed, 334.

Cheever, George B., his Fourth-of-July Address, and Review of Professor Norton's Statement of Reasons, animadverted on, 171 *et seq.* — coarseness and virulence of his attack on Unitarians, 172 — his controversial dishonesty, 175 — his object, notoriety, 179 — more culpable than the other revilers of Unitarians, 181 — his moral turpitude, 183 — his calumnies respecting Dr. Priestley, 186 — his remarks on Professor Norton, examined, 188 — absurdity of his own principles of interpretation, 190.

Chenevière's Theological Essays, reviewed, 137, *et seq.*

Christ, the Character of, the Interpretation of Christianity, an article on, 277 *et seq.* — importance of a knowledge of it, 279 — importance of a knowledge of his whole life, 281 — as a means of understanding his revelation, 283 — as an evidence of its truth, 284 — use and importance of his miracles, 286 — explanation of the circumstances attending his resurrection 294 *et seq.* — purposes to be answered by his resurrection, 297.

Christian Psalmist, noticed, 117.

Christianity, spiritual character of, 31 — its adaptation to the progressive state of the human mind, 32.

Coleman, Henry, his Sermons, noticed, 330.

Commentary on Romans, Professor Stewart's, reviewed, 40.

Creeds, pleas for, 144 — objections to, 147.

D.

Dana's Poems and Prose writings, reviewed, 392 — Poem of the Buccaneer analyzed, 393 — his merits as a poet, 397 — his prose, 401.

Dick, Dr. T., on the Improvement of Society, noticed, 350.

Doane's edition of Horne's Manual for the Afflicted, noticed, 153.

E.

Eaton, Nathaniel, first Rector of Harvard College, notice of, 316 — of his wife, 317.
Education, Woodbridge's Annals of, reviewed, 257 — this work is pledged to no system, 257 — some think the importance of the subject overrated, 258 — influence of parents and teachers, 259 — no higher office than that of a teacher, 260 — the importance of a body of wise and efficient teachers to society, 262 — dangers and evils of a low estimation of the teacher's office, 265 — teachers should be men of the highest character, 268 — state of popular education in this country, alarming and humiliating, 270 — compared with that in Prussia, 273 — the "Annals of Education," recommended, 275.
Essais Théologiques, par M. Chenevière, reviewed, 137 *et seq.*

F.

Faith, nature of, 138.
Flynt, Henry, Tutor, notice of, 325.

G.

Geneva, account of the difficulties in the church there, 149.
Grammar, Hebrew. See Seixas.

H.

Hall, Robert, Memoir of, 1 — character of as a preacher, 1 — public character of, 2 — circumstances which acted on and were influenced by, 2 — motives which impelled him to study, 3 — energy and firmness of, 4 — conscientiousness of, 4 — his veneration, 5 — apparent inconsistency of the principles of, 6, — character of, 6. 7.
Hamilton's Men and Manners in America, reviewed, 219 *et seq.* — his account of Unitarianism, corrected, 222 — he misrepresents the New Englanders, 225 — his criticisms on Americanisms, for the most part, unfounded, 228 — he misrepresents our common-school system, 232 — his merits as a writer and traveller, 236 — his work compared with that of Baron D'Haussez on England, 237.
Harvard University, Peirce's History of, reviewed, 311 *et seq.* — account of its origin, 312 — merits of Mr. Peirce's history of it, 314 — notice of Eaton, its first Rector, 316 — measures taken there for instructing the Indians, 318 — President Chauncy's administration and character, 319 — President Leverett, 321 — opposition to the College excited by Whitefield, 323 — Tutor Flynt, 325 — calumnies against it, 328.
Haussez, Baron D', his work on England noticed, 237.
Hebrew Grammar, Seixas's, noticed, 65 — Professor Stuart's, strictures on, 65.
Horne, Rev. T. H., his Manual for the Afflicted, noticed, 153.

I.

Improvement of Society, Dick on, 350.
Inspiration, Professor Stuart's views of, 61 — Swedenborg's pretensions to, examined, 203.
Intemperance, enormity of the vice, 241 — history of efforts to suppress it, 242.

J.

Jews, a Letter to the, 15 — their objections to Christianity answered, 19 — reasons which induced them to reject the Messiah, 22.
Judaism, external character of, 28 — adaptation of, to the existing state of human nature, 28, 30 — compared with Christianity, 27.
Justification, Stuart on the meaning of, 53.

K.

Kant's opinion of Swedenborg, 215.

L.

Letter to the Jews of this Country, 15.
Letters, Friendly, to a Universalist, 133.
Leverett, President, notice of, 321.
License laws, their repeal recommended, 253.

M.

Manual for the Afflicted, Horne's, noticed, 153.

Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, account of, 243 — its services have been underrated, 244.

Massachusetts Temperance Convention, Journal of, reviewed, 240.

Men and Manners in America, reviewed, 237.

Mennais, Abbé de la, on authority in religion, 140.

Minister of Christ described, Cellérier's, article on, 334 *et seq.* — principles and dispositions proper to one, 335 — his love of holiness, 335 — his love of souls, 338 — his earnest devotedness, 340 — his work is to preach the doctrines of sinfulness and pardon, 345 — the end of his labors, sanctification, 348 — he must address the deep wants of human nature, 349.

Miracles, evidence for Swedenborg's, examined, 207,— Christ's, 286.

Mystics, three classes of, described, 195.

N.

New Englanders, their character vindicated, 225.

Norton, Professor, his Statement of Reasons, vindicated, 188.

Noyes, George R., his New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets reviewed and recommended, 385 *et seq.* — principles on which he proceeds, 385 — need of a new version, 386 — his great merits as a translator, 389.

O.

Owen on Spiritual-Mindedness, noticed, 8 — on sudden convictions, 11 — on spiritual thoughts, 12 — on the happiness of the future state, 13.

P.

Peirce's History of Harvard University, reviewed, 311.

Philosophers, commonly the reformers, 356 — seldom appreciated in their own age, 358 — have a wider and more immediate influence now than formerly, 360 — compared with statesmen and conquerors, 361.

Philosophy. See Speculative.

Porter, Dr. E., his abridgement of Owen on Spiritual-Mindedness, 8.

Priestley, Dr., defended against Cheever's calumnies, 186.

Prophets, Hebrew, Noyes's New Translation of, noticed, 385.

Prussia, state of education in, 273.

R.

Reason, Chenevière, on the use of, 137 *et seq.* — Mennais, Abbé de la, on, 140.

Redemption, Stuart, on the meaning of, 58.

Resurrection of Christ, circumstances of, explained, 294 *et seq.* — objects of, 297.

Romans, Stuart's Commentary on, reviewed, 40.

Rousseau, Sir J. Smith's account of him, 372.

S.

Seduction, article on, 158 *et seq.* objections to a discussion of the subject, considered, 159 — enormity of the sin, 162 — its suppression practicable in this country, 164 — effects, in regard to it, of better views of education, 169.

Seixas's Hebrew Grammar, noticed, and recommended, 67, 69.

Sermons, Colman's, noticed, 330.

Smith, Sir James Edward, Memoir and Correspondence of, by Lady Smith, reviewed, 365 *et seq* — his birth and education, 365 — his early attachment to botany, 367 — at the University in Edinburgh, 368 — purchases the Linnæan collections, 370 — travels on the continent, 372 — his opinion of Rousseau, 373 — gives public lectures on botany, 375 — his works, 376 — applies for the botanical chair at Cambridge, 380 — his death, 382 — his religious and political sentiments, 383.

Son of God, Stuart on this phrase, 47.

Speculative Philosophy, article on, 350 *et seq* — liable to be underrated in the present eagerness for practical information, 351 — its importance to society, 353 — first

principles are fixed by it, 355 — great reformations to be traced to it, 356—Speculative Philosophers not appreciated by their own age, 358 — have a wider and more immediate influence now than formerly, 360 — their assistance to legislators, 362 — their influence on public opinion, 363.

Stuart, Professor, his Commentary on Romans, reviewed, 340 *et seq.* — his character as a Theological commentator, 41 — on the nature and office of Christ, 44—on justification 53 — on redemption, 58 — his views of inspiration, 61 — his system of Hebrew pronunciation, 65 — his Hebrew Grammar, strictures on, 65, 66.

Swedenborg, Emanuel, his True Christian Religion, reviewed, 193 *et seq.* he was a mystic, 195 — brief account of his life, 198 — and philosophical works, 199 — his merits as a philosopher, 201 — his private character, 203 —his pretensions to inspiration, 203 — evidence in support of these pretensions, 206 — his alleged miracles, 207 — differ from those recorded in Scripture, 211 — causes of the continuance and spread of his views, 213 — Kant's opinion of him, 215.

T.

Teachers, the importance of their office, 260 — their importance to society, 262, — to be liberally compensated, 269.

Temperance Convention at Worcester, 240 — enormity of the vice of intemperance, 241 — efforts to suppress it, history of, 242 — principles of the Temperance Reformation, 245 — total abstinence, 246 — traffic in ardent spirit, morally wrong, 250 — inadequacy of the license laws, 253 — claims of the Temperance cause, 255.

Temperance Societies, the earliest in this country, 243.

Total abstinence, doctrine of, 241.

Turner, Dawson, Esq. his letter on the loss of a child, 379.

U.

Unitarian Christian, Letters from a, to the Jews, 15.

Universalism, Modern account of, 134.

Universities, English, increasing liberality of, 381.

University. See Harvard.

W.

Walker's Address before the Young Men's Association, noticed, 123, 124.

Where and *there* on the right pronunciation of, 229.

Whitman's Letters to a Universalist, 133.

Williams's Memoirs of Belsham, 69.

Woodbridge's Annals of Education, reviewed, 257.

Y.

Young Men's Associations, remarks on, 120, 123.

Young Men's Society, character and purposes of, 125.

Young Men's Temperance Society, 127.